His Royal Highness William Duke of Glocester.

Printed for M. Gillyflower and L. Meredith.

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THE

Royal Politician

REPRESENTED

IN

One Hundred Emblems.

Written in *Spaniſh* by

Don Diego Saavedra Faxardo,
Knight of the Order of St. *Jago*,
Plenipotentiary Ambaſſador

To the Cantons of *SWITZERLAND*,
At the Imperial Diet at *RATISBON*,
At the Famous Treaty of *MUNSTER*,
And of the Supreme Council of State for both the *INDIES*.

With a large Preface, containing an Account of the Author, his Works, and the Uſefulneſs thereof.

Done into *Engliſh* from the Original.

By Sir *J. A. STR.*

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for *Matt. Gylliflower* at the *Spread-Eagle* in *Weſtminſter-Hall:* And *Luke Meredith* at the *Star* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, MDCC.

TO

His HIGHNESS

THE

Moſt Illuſtrious Prince,

WILLIAM,

Duke of *Gloceſter.*

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

THE *Author of the enſuing Work, originally a* Spaniard, *was in his life-time, ſo highly eſteemed for his* Learning, Wiſdom, *and* Experience *in* State Affairs, *that he made no ſmall Figure in the greateſt* Courts *of* Europe. *Nor has this Off-ſpring of his Brain met with leſs favourable* Succeſs. *For having*

been tranſlated into ſeveral Languages, and in each often printed, it has been received with great Applauſe, and ever been honoured with the Protection of ſome Illuſtrious Young Prince.

But Precedent, Royal Sir, *is not my only Apology for this Preſumption; for were* Saavedra *now living, he might ſee his Theory reduced to Practice by the beſt of* Kings, *in the beſt of* Governments: *And though he has indeed given you excellent* Maxims, *ſupported by many eminent* Examples, *yet are there none ſo worthy your Imitation, as thoſe you may continually obſerve, in the Conduct and Bravery of that moſt Excellent* Prince, *your* Heroick *Uncle; the whole Series of whoſe Life as far ſurpaſſes Panegyrick, as the Greatneſs of his Soul abhors Flattery. And I was the rather induced to attempt this unpoliſhed Verſion, knowing that honeſt Plain-dealing and unbiaſſed Integrity, the two darling Miſtreſſes of our Author, could not be unacceptable in a Nation where they are ſo generally beloved, and in a Court where they are beyond*

Precedent,

Precedent, more peculiarly cheriſhed and maintain'd.

Your Royal Highneſs *will here find Diſcourſes, which I hope will not only be divertive to your Youth, but profitable even in your ripeſt Years; by reviving thoſe Seeds of* Honour *and* Virtue, *which are daily ſown by the pious Care and Example of Your moſt Illuſtrious Parents. You may here learn, not only the Duty of a* Prince, *but that alſo of an accompliſh'd* States-Man *and* Loyal Subject: *And if ever it ſhall pleaſe God to make You his Vicegerent, You may from hence (next to the Holy Scriptures) learn your Duty to him alſo,* by whom Kings Reign, and Princes decree Juſtice.

In fine: You have here a Compleat Syſtem of Religious Politicks, *which may guide You through all the Labyrinths of Government in this World, and crown You with immortality in that to come. But, pardon me,* Royal Sir, *I preſume not by this Addreſs to think, but that the niceſt Stroaks of our Author come far ſhort of Your* Highneſs's *blooming Virtue, but as near as Per-*

ſection can be copied, this Work has a Right in Your Royal Highneſs, *it ſhewing not ſo much what You ſhould be, as (if we may Judge the enſuing Day by the Glorious Morn) what You will be, the beſt of Princes.*

But here I beg leave to retire, having already waded out of my Depth, Your Highneſs's *Praiſes being a Topick ſo profound, that in attempting them, I ſhould only trouble the* Stream *without hopes of ever plumbing the* Bottom. *The main Motives to this Dedication, were thoſe two inherent Paſſions of Mankind, eſpecially Writers,* Intereſt *and* Ambition; *the firſt in Regard to this Work, which has need of no leſs a Name, than that of Your* Royal Highneſs *to protect it; the laſt in reſpect to my ſelf, having none greater than to ſubſcribe my ſelf,*

Your Highneſs's moſt Faithful

and moſt Obedient Humble Servant,

J. A.

The Author *to the* Reader.

IN the toilsome Leisure of my continual Travels over *Germany*, and several other Countries, I compos'd these Hundred Emblems; wherein you have an Idea of a Royal Christian Politician, penning them down at vacant Intervals. These I had meditated on in my Journeys upon the Road, as oft as that continual Intercourse I had by Letters with his Catholick Majesty and his Ministers, and other publick Concerns incumbent on me, gave me Time and Leisure. By Degrees the Work swell'd, and though I was well assured, it came far short of Perfection, as not being compil'd with that continual Application of Thought, nor with that Accuracy and Labour corrected, as was requisite to have render'd it agreeable in all its Parts, and an absolutely perfect Piece; and that it

would be thought Pride in me, to presume to prescribe Precepts to Princes (1): However, the Importunity of my Friends (who have ever great Influence over me) prevail'd upon me to publish it; in which also Self-love had some part, for we are generally as fond of the Products of our Brain, as of those of Nature. I write not this, *Reader*, to excuse my Errors, for that I can't do sufficiently, but that I may more easily obtain Pardon of those, who shall consider my Zeal, in having amidst such a Croud of Business, Fatigues, and Dangers, compil'd this Book, that if any Benefit might be reap'd from it, it might accrue to my Prince and Master; and least with me should die the Experience which I have acquir'd by a continued Exercise in Business for Four and thirty Years, which after five years Study in the University of *Salamanca*, I have pass'd in the principal Courts of *Europe*, always employ'd in Publick Affairs, having been at *Rome* at the Election of two Popes; at the Assembly of the Electoral Princes at *Ratisbone* when *Ferdinand* the Third, the present most August Emperor, was created King of the *Romans*; at Eight Diets in *Switzerland*; and lastly at the Imperial Diet at *Ratisbone*, being Plenipotentiary for the most Serene House and Circle of *Burgundy*. Wherefore, if any one of these Political Counsels or Precepts, shall be any ways beneficial to him who is happpily born to govern both the Old and New World, I believe this Attempt will be excus'd.

Nor should any one be disgusted at the Use of Emblems, since God himself is the Author of them. The Brazen-Serpent (2), The Flaming-Bush (3), *Gideon*'s Fleece (4), *Sampson*'s Lion (5), The Priests Garments (6), The Amours of the kind Spouse (7), What are they else but Emblems?

It has been my chiefest Endeavour to have the Invention new; whether the Performance be answerable

(1) *Præcipere qualis debeat esse princeps, pulchrum quidem, & generosum, & prope superbum.* Plin. Jun. lib. 3. Epist. 18. (2) Numb. 21. (3) Exodus 3. (4) Judges 6. (5) Judges 14. (6) Exodus 28. (7) Song of Solomon.

I know

I know not. There have been many Ingenious Men, who have wrote upon the ſame Subject, and 'tis very obvious for different Perſons to Jump upon the ſame Thoughts; which has been my Fortune, having afterwards met with in other Authors, thoſe Emblems which I at firſt thought my own Invention, which I therefore thought fit wholly to omit, not without Prejudice to my Deſign, for my Predeceſſors have made uſe of ſeveral Figures and Motto's, which has oblig'd me to take up with others leſs proper.

Alſo ſome Political Precepts, which though my own, as to the Invention at leaſt, yet I have found ſince to be of other, and far more ancient Authority: I have therefore Inſerted the Authors Names in the Margin, that due Honour may be paid to Antiquity. 'Twas the Happineſs of the Wits of former Ages, that they could engroſs from their Poſterity the Glory of Invention. I have made it my Deſign and Care, to Interweave this Web with ſome Threads of *Cornelius Tacitus*, without doubt the moſt accompliſh'd Maſter of Princes, and who moſt judiciouſly penetrates their Nature, and the Cuſtoms and Intrigues of Courts, as alſo the Miſcarriages and Succeſs of Governments; with Precepts and Sentences taken from this Great Man, as with my Hand, I lead the Prince whom I would mould by theſe Emblems, that he may without danger, gather Flowers tranſplanted hither from anothers Garden, and purg'd from the Venom and Thorns which their native Soil frequently ſubjects them to, or the rankneſs of thoſe times produc'd. In this Second Edition, I alſo illuſtrate the principal Maxims of State, with Proofs from Holy the Scriptures; for thoſe Politicks which are refin'd in that Furnace, may be truly call'd, Silver try'd and refined ſeven times in the Fire of Truth (8). And who would learn of a Heathen, or Impious Perſon, when the Holy Spirit is ſo ready to give Inſtruction?

(8) *Pſalm* 12. 7. The Words of the Lord are pure Words; as Silver tried in a Furnace of Earth, purified ſeven times.

In explaining the Emblems, I am not too prolix, that the *Reader* may not loſe the Satisfaction of diſcovering their meaning of himſelf. If by Chance, in my Diſcourſe, I ſprinkle a little Learning, it is not out of Oſtentation, but to enlighten the Prince's Mind, and render the Inſtruction more agreeable.

The whole Work conſiſts purely of State Maxims and Rules, thoſe being the fitteſt Materials for ſuch a Politick Building; however I don't barely propoſe them, but intermix them with the whole Diſcourſe, applying them all along to particular Caſes, to avoid the Danger of general Precepts.

It has been alſo my Endeavour to render the Stile polite, but without Affectation; ſhort too and conciſe, but not obſcure; which in *Horace*'s Judgment was a difficult Matter (9), and of which I have not yet ſeen an inſtance in the *Caſtillian* Language. I have however made an Eſſay towards it, knowing that what is written to Princes ſhould be neither idly Sententious, nor ſuperfluouſly Copious. Their time is precious, and he does not a little obſtruct the Publick Intereſt, who with empty and frivolous Diſcourſe diverts them from Affairs of greater Importance.

I don't ſo wholly confine my ſelf to the Inſtitution and Direction of Princes, but that I alſo deſcend to Governments, reflect upon their Growth, Preſervation, and Fall; and ſo to frame a Miniſter of State, and a prudent Courtier.

If at any time I am liberal of my Commendations of any, 'tis to excite Emulation, not to Flatter, to which I am very averſe; for it were a Crime unpardonable to publiſh to the whole World, Flatteries, and thoſe too engraven in Braſs, or to make my ſelf guilty of the very ſame thing, which I ſo much reprove and diſcommend in others.

If I ſpeak the Truth with too much Freedom, 'tis to be imputed to Ambition, which is ſo deeply rooted in Mens minds, that without Fire and Sword 'tis incurable.

(9) *Brevis eſſe laboro obſcurus fio*, Hor.

The

The Doctrine is general; but if any one shall from a Resemblance of Vices, think himself levell'd at, or that what is blam'd in him is commended in others, 'tis not my Fault (10).

As also when I reprove Princes Actions, or reflect upon Tyrants, or only on the Nature of Sovereignty, it being no new or unusual thing, for a good Prince to do ill, when either he is not clearly inform'd of the Truth, or governed by ill Counsellors.

The same I would have understood of Commonwealths, if in any thing I seem to dislike them; for either my Reflections are upon what is very usual in Communities, or at least comprehend not those crown'd and well constituted Republicks, whose Government is Generous and Royal.

I have us'd Examples, both Ancient and Modern; those for their Authority, these partly as being more persuasive, partly too, because by Reason of Propinquity of time, the State of Affairs is less altered, and consequently may with less Danger be imitated, and a Prudent and Politick Judgment may more safely be formed thereon, which is the principal Advantage of History. Nor is our Age so barren of virtuous and great Atchievements, as not to have furnish'd us and our Posterity with good Examples (11). Besides, really it were black and envious in us to extol ancient, without the least regard to modern Actions (12).

I am well assur'd, *Reader*, that Books of this nature which treat of State Affairs, are like † *Statues*, which in running at the *Quintin*, all aim at with their Lances, all strike. I well know that whoever designs to be an Author, must submit to the Black Ink, and Press of Detraction, (which I design'd to signify by this Emblem;) but withal I am not ignorant, that the blacker that Ink, with which the Letters are daub'd, and the closer the Press wherewith they are press'd, the fairer afterwards, and more conspicuous they appear.

(10) Tac. 4. *ann.* *Qui ob similitudinem aliena malefacta sibi objectari putant.* (11) Tac. 4. Hist. (12) Ibid. † *Estafermos.*

THE

THE TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

I Will not endeavour with Rhetorical Flouriſhes to captivate any Perſon into a good Opinion of my Author, or his Work, being ſenſible I ſhould therein do an Injury to his Memory, who has ſo often declared his Averſion to Flattery. I only deſire the Reader *to remember always that he was by Birth a* Spaniard, *and though Educated in the Church of* Rome, *was by Profeſſion a Lawyer and Stateſman, who being generally wiſer, are leſs bigotted to the fooliſh Principles and Practices of that Religion. However, as I think it on the one Hand needleſs to vindicate the Illuſtrious Houſe of* Naſſau *from his partial Reflections, (which were modiſh in the* Spaniſh *Court when he wrote* (1)*) the whole World being ſatisfied in the Juſtice of their Cauſe, the Heroick Proſecution thereof, and what Additional Laurels they juſtly acquir'd thereby; ſo on the other ſide, I would not be thought to recommend his Religion either to Prince or People. We too lately eſcaped the Snare, to be again entangled with the Knaveries or Fooleries, to ſay no worſe, of the Church or Court of* Rome; *and next under God muſt own our ſole Deliverance to a Branch of that Ancient and Imperial Family, our preſent Gracious Sovereign.*

(1) The firſt Edition that I know of, was at *Munſter*, *Anno* 1642. which being near ſix Year before the Concluſion of the Peace there, may ſerve as ſome Apology for the Author's Reflections on the Princes of *Orange*, and other Heroes of the Adverſe Party.

Theſe

These Precautions being observed, I humbly presume this Book will be of excellent Use to all Ingenuous Persons of what Degree or Quality soever. For though by the Title it seems calculated for the Meridian of Kings and Princes only, yet it in some measure comprehends all Persons within the Circumference of their Dominions.

The Statesman and Politician may herein learn what Qualifications they ought to be endowed with for Negotiations, either at Home, or in Foreign Courts; how by avoiding the Vices usually attending their High Stations, and embracing the contrary Virtues, they may render their Actions meritorious to their Prince or Country.

The Officers and Soldiers of an Army may here without Danger behold the Methods and Stratagems their Predecessors have used to Conquer their Enemies, and learn that their greatest Interest consists in good Order and Discipline, and absolute Obedience to their Superiors, that Vice is as pernicious in a Camp as a Court, and that Bravery and Virtue in Conjunction merit the greatest Reward and Affection from their Prince or Country.

The Merchants and Seamen may here behold the vast Advantage, their Profession is to a Government, and how Ships are the Moveable Poles, on which the Stability thereof depends.

In fine, all Persons of Learning, Sense, or Reason, may from many excellent Precepts and eminent Examples contain'd therein, improve and refine their Talents to the greatest Advantage imaginable, remembring always my previous Caution to avoid some few mistaken Aphorisms of his Religion and Country.

Our Celebrated Author, Don Diego Saavedra Faxardo, *Knight of the Order of St.* Jago, *was Born of a Noble Family of* Murcia *in* Spain. *He was the Son of* Peter de Saavedra *and* Fabiana Faxardo, *who was also of Noble Extraction. He was Educated in the University of* Salamanca, *in the Profession of the Laws, wherein he became very Eminent, especially in those Parts thereof which are requisite for the Accomplishment of an Absolute Politician and Compleat Statesman. From thence he was chosen Secretary to Cardinal*

Gaspar

Gaſpar Borgia, *Vice-Roy of* Naples, *and ſoon after Reſident for his Catholick Majeſty at* Rome; *where his Conduct gain'd him ſo great Applauſe, that he was ſent on the ſame Imploy into* Switzerland: *After that, he was Plenipotentiary-Ambaſſador at two Imperial Diets at* Ratisbone; *and then commanded to aſſiſt* Don Gaſpar de Bracamont, *Count* de Pennecranda, *at the famous Treaty of* Munſter, *where he gave ſignal Demonſtration of his great Experience and Dexterity in the Management of the moſt difficult Affairs of State. At his Return he ſate in the Supreme Council for the Government of both the* Indies; *in which Imploy he died at* Madrid *in the Year* 1648. *All that I know more of him, you may find in his own* Preface, *to which, for brevity ſake I refer you* (2).

The greatneſs of his Perſonal Character and Reputation, and of this Book in particular, are too well-eſtabliſh'd in the World to require any Panegyricks on either; but if the Reader *deſire to ſee how this Work was admired by ſome of the moſt Learned of the Age, let him read the Epiſtles prefix'd to the* Latin *Verſion thereof. His Religious Temper more particularly appears in the great Veneration he always ſhews for the Holy Scripture, and his apt Application thereof; and his Politicks no leſs by being ſo well read in* Tacitus, *the Great Maſter thereof. Were that Excellent* Roman *now living, he could not but be pleaſed, to ſee the Roughneſs and Crabbedneſs of his Stile ſo finely poliſh'd, without Diminution to the profoundneſs of his Senſe and Judgment, in our* Engliſh *Verſion; though in the Annotations thereof, he would find himſelf Riva'd, if not excell'd by a Modern Politician. But there is no greater Argument to prove the general Approbation and kind Reception thereof, than the various Editions in ſeveral Languages, beſides the Original, as* Latin, French, Italian, Portugeſe, *and* High-German. *To enumerate the particular Times and Places of each Impreſſion would be ſuperfluous, were they all known to us. Let it ſuffice to inform you, that*

(2) Nic. Antonio's Bibliotheca Scrip. Hiſpan.
Miræus's Bibliotheca Eccleſiaſt.
Moreri's *Great Dictionary.*

the

the Impreſſion of the Original we chiefly made uſe of in this Verſion, is the Fourth Edition, Printed at Valencia, *1660. as being the moſt Correct we could meet with. He wrote alſo a Book, Entituled,* Corona Gothica, Caſtellanica, & Auſtriaca Politicamente Illuſtrada, *Printed at* Madrid, *1650. though, as ſome ſay, he died before he had compleated it.*

And here I cannot but obſerve how diſingenuous (to ſay no worſe) the Italian *and* French *Tranſlators, or rather Corruptors, of our Author have been, eſpecially the laſt, who not content only to omit whole Pages and Sections, very material to the Purpoſe, have foiſted in their own fulſome Flatteries inſtead thereof, baſely perverting his very Senſe and Meaning, to comply with the Intereſt and Ambition of particular Perſons or Governments. So dangerous a Thing is Truth in ſome Nations. But we have choſe rather to draw the Copy after the full Proportion of the Original, being ſatisfied we have the Happineſs to live in ſo well Conſtituted a Government, and under ſo Excellent a King, that Truth and Integrity are now become the great Accompliſhments of a Courtier.*

Our Author taking occaſion ſo often to mention Alphonſus *the Wiſe, I preſume it will not be thought unneceſſary, or be unacceptable to ſome* Readers, *to give a ſhort Account of him. He was the Tenth of that Name, King of* Leon *and* Caſtile, *and was alſo Sirnamed the Aſtrologer, and ſucceeded his Father,* Ferdinand *the Third, 1252. He made the Aſtronomical Tables, ſtill Extant, which are called from his Name,* Tabulæ Alphonſinæ; *and 'tis certainly affirm'd, That he ſpent 400000 Crowns in the Compoſition of them. He refuſed the Imperial Crown of* Germany, *which was offered him after the Rejection of* Richard, *Duke of* Cornwall, *contenting himſelf only with the Title of Emperor, which ſome ſay he reſigned to Pope* Gregory *the Tenth, whereof he repented, and would have reaſſumed the Imperial Title and Arms; but was deterred for fear of an Excommunication againſt him. He was ſucceſsful againſt the* Moors; *but at length dethron'd by his own Son* Sancho, *and died for Grief in Anno* 1284. *In a great Sickneſs, after many*

Remedies

Remedies uſed in vain, he began to read Quint. Curtius's *Hiſtory of* Alexander *the Great, which he did with ſo much Delight, that he recovered his Health; whereupon he ſaid,* Farewell *Avicen, Hippocrates,* and the whole Croud of *Doctors,* give me my *Curtius* that hath ſaved my Life. *He had read the Bible fourteen Times, with ſeveral Commentaries upon it; he was a great Aſtrologer, and after he had deeply conſidered the Fabrick of the World, the following ſaying of his, reported by* Lipſius, *denotes him to have been none of the moſt Pious; viz.* That if God had adviſed with him in the Creation, he could have given him good Counſel (3).

By the Great Captain, often alſo mentioned, is meant Gonzales *of* Cordova, *who ſerved under* Ferdinand *and* Iſabella, *in the Conqueſt of* Granada, *and was very famous in his Time.*

It may perhaps, according to Cuſtom, be expected we ſhould give ſome Account of the preſent Performance; but that indeed is a very tickliſh Point; for to Commend, or even Juſtify it would favour of Vanity; and to diſcover its Imperfections, would be very diſobliging to our Friends, *the* Bookſellers. *I ſhall therefore in the Words of an Ingenuous and Judicious Author* (4), *deſire you to conſider, That there are certain Graces and Happineſſes, peculiar to every Language which give Life and Energy to the Words. And whoſoever offers at a Verbal Tranſlation, ſhall have the Misfortune of that Young Traveller, who loſt his own Language abroad, and brought home no other inſtead thereof. For the Grace of the* Spaniſh *will be loſt by being turned into* Engliſh *Words; and the Grace of the* Engliſh *by being turned into* Spaniſh *Phraſe. However we have endeavoured to come as near the Senſe of the Original, as we could, without offering to be* Fidi Interpretes, *that properly belonging to thoſe who Tranſlate Matters of Faith, or ſuch Facts of Moment as have Relation thereunto.*

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(3) Mariana Hiſt. Hiſp. Turquet. Roderick Geneb. Spond, Bzovius.

(4) Sir John Denham.

The

The Reader *is desired to take notice that our Author, as all others of his Religion, makes use of the Vulgar Translation in his Quotations out of the Holy Scripture, which in many Places is so different from the* English *Version, that they are not applicable to the Purpose for which he Quotes them. For Instance the Seventy eighth Emblem is a Syren or Mermaid, and the Motto,* Formosa Superne. *In the beginning thereof, he quotes Isaiah* 13. 22. Et Sirenes in delubris voluptatis, *which we Translate,* and Dragons in their pleasant Places. *How beautiful they are, unless we do them wrong, I leave you to judge. The Fifty fifth Emblem, is a Hand holding a Scepter full of Eyes; the Motto,* His Prævide & Provide. *He there quotes* Jeremiah 1. 11. *where the Vulgar has* Virgam vigilantem ego video; *the* English, I see the Rod of an Almond Tree; *which literally taken, is little to his Purpose, and therefore we leave it in the Sense he took it. The Word in the* Hebrew, *is* Saked, *for an Almond Tree, and Verse the* 12*th*, Then said the Lord unto me, thou hast well seen, for I will hasten my Word to perform it. *The Almond Tree is there mentioned as an Emblem of Hast; the word* Saked, *an Almond Tree, alluding to* Sakad, *a Word which signifies making Haste. Nor is the Allusion frivolous, for* Pliny *says,* Floret omnium prima Amygdala, mense Januario, Martio veró Poma maturat. *Lib.* 16. *c.* 25. (5).

Now, if any Person thinks himself represented herein, and likes not his Picture, let him consider he sate not for it, and if he finds any Strokes too Bold, let him not blame the Artist, but amend the Original. As for that little Popery that is in it, it has been so solidly confuted by many Eminent Divines of the Church of England, *and so ridicul'd by others, that I presume, it cannot have the least Influence on the meanest Protestant of the Nation. In Answer to what he reflects on some of his Majesty's Heroick Ancestors, (if it may not rather be called an* Encomium) *I refer the* Reader *to that most Excellent and Unanswerable Apology,*

(5) Bochartus's Geograph. Sacra. Phaleg, lib. c. 1. Canaan, lib. 1. c. 35.

wrote by the Prince of Orange *himself, and published in all Languages. And for a Conclusion, accept of the following* Epigram, *by an unknown Hand, representing that Illustrious Prince, as Prophetically, speaking to* William *the Third, our present Gracious Sovereign.*

Nassovius Cœli miratus ab Arce Nepotem
Ad Summum tantis passibus ire Decus;
Macte, inquit, sanguis noster; tibi cedimus ultro,
Quandoquidem cedunt Terra Fretumque tibi.
Me Duce parta meis Libertas pristina Belgis,
Orbis Hyperborei, te Duce, liber erit.

In *English.*

When Nassau *from the Skies beheld his Son,*
With such large Steps the Race of honour Run;
Proceed, my Boy, proceed with joy, said He;
I do, since Earth and Sea submit to thee.
I only to my Country *freedom gave,*
You will the Northern World *from Bondage save.*

THE

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OF THE EDUCATION OF A PRINCE.

EMBLEM I.

VAlour is born, not acquired; 'tis an intrinsick Quality of the Soul which is infused with it, and immediately exerts it self: The very Mothers Womb was a Field of Battel to the Two Brothers, *Jacob* and *Esau* (1). Of *Thamar's* Twins, one

(1) And the Children struggled together within her, Gen. 25.22.

by Nature more daring, when he could not be Born before his Brother, broke however the Ligature, and thrust out his Hand, as if he would snatch the Eldership from him (2). A great Soul exerts it self in the Cradle: *Hercules* Crowned, by the Conquest of Two Serpents, from that day exposing himself to Envy, and making Fortune truckle to his Vertue. A generous Spirit is conspicuous in the very first Actions of Nature. The Infant of *Spain*, your Highness his Uncle of Blessed Memory, saw the Battel of *Norlinguen* almost even before he knew what War was, and even then knew how to Command with Prudence and Act with Vigour.

Cyrus, a very Boy when Elected King by those of his own Age, did in that Childish Government such Heroick Actions, as sufficiently manifested his secret Greatness of mind and Royal Genius, Natures most excellent Productions are themselves their own Discoverers. Amidst the rude and unrefined mass of Oar, the Diamond sparkles, and Gold glisters. The Young Lion as soon as whelp'd, views his Paws, and with a haughty Mein, shakes his curled Main scarce yet dry, as preparing to Fight. Childish Games, to which Princes are carried by a natural Impulse, are Signs and prognosticks of maturer Actions. Nature is never so much as a Moment idle, but from the very Birth of it's Off-spring is industrious in a regular Formation of its Mind as well as Body; for this Reason, she has stampt such an extraordinary Affection upon Parents to excite their Diligence in well Educating their Children; and lest they should (which is no unusual thing) with a strange Nurses Milk, imbibe also her Vicious Practices, the same Nature, provident in her Distributions, has dispenced as it were a double Fountain of purer Blood, to supply them with Nourishment for their Young Ones: But either Idleness, or fear of

(2) And it came to pass when she travailed, that the one put out his hand first, *Genes.* 38. 28.

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losing their Beauty, is frequently the occasion why Mothers (not without considerable Detriment to the Commonwealth) neglect their Duty, and give the suckling of their Children to others; which Abuse, since it cannot so easily be remedied, at least great care should be taken in the Choice of them. *Let them be Healthy, of a good Family, and well bred; for as from the Conception to the Birth the Child is nourished in the Body of its Mother, so is it from its Birth till 'tis weaned, by the Nurse's Breast, and this last Interval being longer than the other, the Child must of Necessity imbibe more of the Nature of its Nurse than its Mother*, Says the Wise King *Alphonso*, who prescribed Laws to Heaven and Earth.

The Second Obligation Parents lie under, is the Education of their Children (3): there's scarce any Animal will forsake its Young Ones without Direction given how to provide for themselves. Nor are the Advantages of Education less considerable than those of Nature, and Children are more ready to embrace their Parents instructions and bear their Reproofs, than those of others (4): Those particularly who are nobly born disdain to be govern'd by their Inferiours. In a Childs first Procreation, it Received nothing from the Father but a Body, for God alone is the Authour of the Soul, which except the Father afterwards Cultivates and improves by Education (5), he will scarce deserve the name of a true and absolute Father. Nor is it new in holy Scripture for a Master to be called Father. For Example, *Jubal* the first Teacher of Musick (6). And who, I pray, is fitter to Teach his Son how to appear with Majesty, how to keep a Decorum in all things, Maintain his Authority, and govern his Subjects, than the Prince himself (7)? He only has the full practick

(3) Hast thou Children, instruct them. *Eccles.* 7. 23. (4) *Educari siquidem rectè à parentibus, per sanctos & justos mores boni meritò existent. Aristot. Oecon. lib.* 2. (5) Wisdom exalteth her Children. *Eccles.* 4. 12. (6) He was the Father of all such as handle the harp and Organ. *Gen.* 4. 21. (7) My Son, give me thine heart, and let thine Eyes observe my ways. *Prov.* 23. 26.

Knowledge of Government, which others know only in part and by Speculation: Nor without reason did *Solomon* boast that he Received great Improvement from his Fathers Instructions (8); however since Fathers sometimes have not themselves the Qualifications requisite for a good Education of their Children, or at least have not leisure to take that Trouble upon them, Masters must be looked for of an unblamable Life and Conversation; eminent withall for Learning and Experience (9); such as King *Alphonso* in his Laws describes in these Words. *So that for all these reasons, Kings ought to take great care of their Children, and to choose them Tutours of a good Family and good Livers, sound both in Mind and Body, and above all faithfull and just, firm to the Interest of their King and Country.* To which I add, that they ought to be Men of Valour and a great Spirit, well Experienced in Affairs, as well of Peace as War, such was *Seneca*, whom therefore *Agrippina* made Choice of for *Nero's* Master (10). 'Tis impossible, without doubt, for a Man of an abject and mean Spirit to imprint on a Prince thoughts more sublime than his own. Were an Owl to instruct an Eagle, she would not teach her to look on the Sun, or soar above lofty Cedars; her School would be kept altogether in the dark, amidst the lower Branches. The Master's Image appears in the Scholar, and in him, he in a manner Represents himself. For no other reason did *Pharaoh* make *Joseph* Lord of his house, and Ruler of all his substance, but to teach his Princes to be like himself (11). Those who have the tuition and government of Princes Sons, ought to be as careful of their tender years, as Gardi-

(8) For I was my Father's Son, tender and only belov'd of my Mother: he taught me also, and said, Let thine heart retain my words. *Prov.* 4. 3. (9) *Quærendi sunt liberis Magistri, quorum & inculpata sit vita & mores.* Plut. de Educ. (10) *Utq; Domitii puritia tali Magistro adolesceret; & consilia ejusdem ad spem dominationis iterentur.* Tac. 12. Ann. (11) And he made him Lord of his house, and ruler of his substance: To bind his Princes at his pleasure: and teach his Senatours wisdom, *Psal.* 105. 21, 22.

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ners are of their moſt delicate Plants, which even before they appear above ground; they ſecure with Fences to prevent their being injured, by treading on, or handling. On the firſt ſtroak depends the Perfection of a Picture, ſo does a good Education on what the firſt years have imbibed, before the paſſions get ſtrength and refuſe to ſubmit to reaſon (12). From a very minute Seed a vaſt Tree proceeds, which however ſmall a twig at firſt, and eaſily flexible every way, when 'tis inveſted with Bark, and has diffuſed it ſelf into Branches, ſtands immoveable. The affections in youth are not much unlike poiſon, which having once made its paſſage into the Heart, leaves the paleneſs conſequent to it incurable. Vertues that improve and increaſe with our Age have not only the precedency of others, but excell even themſelves (13). Of the four Winged Animals in *Ezekiel's* Viſion, the Eagle, one of that very number, was carried higher than all thoſe four (14), for becauſe ſhe as ſoon as hatcht began to have Wings, the others not till long after, ſhe not only appeared above them, but her ſelf too. For want of a ſuitable conſideration of this, I Imagine it is that many perſons uſually commit the Care of their Sons as ſoon as they come into the World, to Women, who with the idle fear of ſhadows, agreeable to the genius of their Sex, enfeeble their minds, and ſtamp other Effœminate paſſions on them, which with time take deep root (15). To avoid this inconveniency, the *Perſian* Kings Commited theirs to the care of perſons of worth and prudence (16). But above all, Children's natures are

(12) Bow down his neck while he is young, and beat him on the ſides while he is a Child, leaſt he wax ſtubborn, and be diſobedient to thee, and ſo bring ſorrow to thine heart. *Eccleſ.* 30. 12. (13) It is good for a Man that he bear the Yoke in his Youth, he ſitteth alone, and keepeth ſilence, becauſe he hath born it upon him. *Lam.* 3. 27, 28. (14) They four had alſo the face of an Eagle. *Ezek.* 1. 10 (15) Train up thy child in the way he ſhould go: and when he is old he will not depart from it. Prov. 22. 6. (16) *Nutritur puer non à Matre nutrice parum bonvifica, verum ab Eunuchis, qui reliquorum circa Regem optimi videantur*, Plut. primo Alcib.

to be taken particular notice of, it being impossible without it to draw a true Scheme of Education.

Now no Age is more proper for it than their infancy, when nature as yet free from envy and dissimulation (17), sincerely discloses it self; when in their Forehead, Eyes, Hands, their Smiles and other motions of their Body, their passions and inclinations appear without disguise. The Ambassadours of *Bearn* having power given them by the illustrious *William* of *Moncada* to Choose which of his Sons for their Prince they thought fit; upon observation, that Ones hand was Clinched, the others open, Chose this latter, interpreting it to be a sign of Munificence and Liberality, as it afterwards prov'd. If an Infant be of a generous and great Mind, at hearing his own commendations he smooths his Brows, looks pleasantly and smiles; on the contrary, when discommended, he is concerned, blushes and casts his Eyes on the ground; if of an undaunted Spirit, he looks stern, is not terrified with shadows or threats; if Liberal, he despises toyes and presents, or readily parts with them again to others; if revengeful, he continues Angry, is all in Tears till he have satisfaction; if he be Cholerick, the least trifle puts him in a heat, he lets fall his Brows, looks dogged, and threatens with his fist; if Affable, with a sweet Smile and alluring Eye, he wins favour and acceptance; if Melancholy, he avoids Company, delights in solitude, is often complaining, seldom Laughs, and generally looks sullen; if he be Airy, he unfolds the Wrinkles of his Forehead, and now gratefully fixing his Eyes seems to dart a pleasing light, by and by with a kind of Complacency withdrawing them, and agreeably pleating his brows, betrays the Chearfulness of his Mind. Thus does the heart represent the other Vertues also, and vices in the face and exterior motions of the Body, till more cautious Age has taught it to Conceal them.

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(17) *Juvenes non sunt maligni moris, sed facilis moris, propterea quod nondum viderant nequitias.* Aristot.

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In the very Cradle and Nurſe's Arms, the whole Court admired in your Highneſs, a certain natural pleaſantneſs and grateful Majeſty, and indeed that grave carriage and preſence of Mind which appeared in your Highneſs, when the Two Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon* took an Oath of Allegiance to you, exceeded the ordinary capacity of your years.

I would not have however, theſe reflections of mine upon infancy be look'd upon as infallible and without exception, for nature ſometimes deviates from her Common Road, and deceives the too curious Enquirer, there are ſome, who tho' vitious in their infancy, when at years of diſcretion take up and Reform, which happens perhaps, becauſe one of a great and haughty Spirit deſpiſes Education, and conſequently is ſubdued by his natural paſſions, while right reaſon is too weak to reſiſt them, till that getting ſtrength He acknowledges its errours and corrects them effectually: 'twas a cruel and barbarous Cuſtom therefore of the *Brachmans*, who either killed or expoſed their Children after they were Two Months Old in the Woods, if there appeared in them any tokens of an ill nature. As inhumane were the *Lacedæmonians* who threw theirs into the River *Taygetes*. Both ſeemed to make no account of Education, of right reaſon and free-will which uſually correct and regulate natural affections. This alſo ſeems unaccountable, when nature joyns ſome eminent Vertues with the moſt enormous Vices in the ſame perſon; as too different ſlips are often grafted upon two branches, which growing out of the ſame Root produce different, nay contrary Fruits, bitter and ſweet.

This was Viſible in *Alcibiades* of whom 'twas a queſtion whether he was more eminent for his Vertues or Vices. And thus Nature works 'ere ſhe has begun to know her ſelf, but reaſon afterwards and induſtry correct and poliſh her operations.

Laſtly ſince I propoſed to my ſelf by theſe Emblems to give an exact Model of a Prince from the Cradle to the Tomb, It won't be amiſs to accommodate my rudi-

ments and ſtile to each particular Age, as *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* have done. At preſent, I Adviſe that ſpecial Care be taken to render his Arms and Legs active by Exerciſe. If by chance any of his Limbs ſhould be crooked they may be ſtraightned by artificial Inſtruments (18). Let frightful ſpectacles which may injure the imaginative faculty be kept from him: Let him not be ſuffered to look aſquint at any thing: Uſe him gradually to the ſharpneſs of the Air, nor ſhould Muſick be Wanting to quicken his Spirits now and then: for whatever new thing Children meet with, that 'tis they admire, that makes the deepeſt Impreſſion on their Imagination.

(18) *Caterum ne propter teneritatem membra torqueantur, nationes quibuſdam artificioſis inſtrumentis utebantur.* Ariſt. lib. 7. Pol. cap. 17.

E M-

EMBLEM II.

With Pencil and Colours Art admirably Expreſſes every thing. Hence, if Painting be not Nature, it certainly comes ſo near it as that often its works deceive the ſight, and are not to be diſtinguiſhed but by the touch. It can't, it's true, animate Bodies, but it frequently draws the Beauty, Motions and Affections of the Soul. Altho' indeed it cannot intirely form the Bodies themſelves for want of matter, yet the Pencil ſo exquiſitely deſcribes them on Canvaſs, that beſides Life there's nothing that you can deſire more. Nature I believe would envy Art if ſhe could poſſibly do the ſame, but now ſhe is ſo kind, as in many things to uſe the Aſſiſtance of Art; for whatever the Induſtry of this can perfect, that Nature does not finiſh her ſelf. Thus we ſee man is born without any manner of knowledge or propriety of ſpeech, inſtruction and learning being left to draw the lineaments

of

of Arts and Sciences on his mind as on a blank Canvass, and Education to Imprint morality thereon, not without great advantage to humane Society; for hence it comes to pass that by One mans having Occasion for the Assistance of another, the bonds of gratitude and affection are strengthened: for Nature has sown the seed of Vertue and knowledge in all of us, we are equally born to those goods of the mind, which must be cultivated and quicken'd by some other hand (1). But 'tis necessary these measures be taken in the tender years, while the mind is fitter to Receive all manner of forms, so readily apprehensive of sciences as to appear rather to remember than first learn them; which *Plato* made use of as an argument to prove the immortality of the Soul (2); but if this be neglected in the first Age, the affections by degrees get ground, and their depraved inclinations make so deep an impression upon the will as no Education can efface. The Bear no sooner whelps but licking the limbs of her deformed Litter while they are soft, perfects and brings them to shape, whereas if she suffered them to grow firm, her pains would be ineffectual. It was wisely done (in my Judgment) of the Kings of *Persia* to Commit their Sons in their Infancy to Masters, whose care it should be for the first seven years of their life to Organize their Bodies: In the second to strengthen them by using them to fencing and the like Exercises. To these they after added four select Persons to give the finishing stroaks; the first eminent for Learning, made 'em Scholars; the second a discreet, sober man, taught them to govern and bridle their appetites; the third a Lover of Equity, inculcated the Administration of Justice; lastly the fourth eminently Valiant and Experienced in Warfare, instructed them in Mili-

(1) *Omnibus natura fundamenta dedit, semenque virtutum, omnes ad ista omnia nati sumus; cum irritator accessit, tunc illa animi bona, velut sopita excitantur.* Sen. Epist. 10. (2) *Ex hoc posse cognosci animas immortales esse, atque divinas, quod in pueris mobilia sunt ingenia, & ad percipiendum facilia.* Plat. de An.

ary Diſcipline, eſpecially endeavouring by incentives to Honour, to divert their minds from fear and Cowardice. But this good Education is particularly neceſſary in Princes as they are the Inſtruments of Politick happineſs and publick ſafety. In others the neglect of a good Education is only prejudicial to ſingle perſons or at leaſt influences very few: but in a Prince 'tis not only againſt his private, but every ones common intereſt, whilſt ſome he injures immediately by his Actions, others by his Example. Man well Educated is the moſt divine Creature in the World; If ill, of all animals the moſt ſavage (3). What, I pray, can you expect from a Prince who is ill Educated, and has got the ſupreme power in his hands? other evils of a Common wealth are of no long continuance, this never terminates but with the Princes life. Of what Importance a good and honourable Education is, *Philip* King of *Macedon* was ſenſible, declaring in his Letters to *Ariſtotle* upon the Birth of his Son *Alexander* his Obligation to the Gods, not ſo much for giving him a Son, as that he was born at a time when he could make uſe of ſuch a Maſter, and 'tis certainly never convenient to leave nature otherwiſe good, to her ſelf and her own operations, ſince the beſt is imperfect and requires ſome external induſtry to cultivate it, as indeed do moſt things neceſſary for man's well being. The puniſhment derived to us by the fault of our firſt parents being not to enjoy any thing without labour and the ſweat of the Brow, how can you expect a Tree to bear ſweet fruit unleſs you tranſplant it, or by graffing it upon ſtems of a more refined and generous nature, correct its Wildneſs. Education improves the good and inſtructs the bad (4). This was the rea-

(3) *Homo reſtam nullus inſtitutionem divinissimum mansuetissimumque animal effici ſolet; ſi vero, vel non ſufficienter, vel non bene educetur, eorum qua terra progenuit, ferocissimum.* Plat. lib. 3. de leg. (4) *Educatio, & inſtitutis commoda, naturas bonas inducit, & rursum bona natura ſi talem inſtitutionem conſequantur, meliores adhuc & præſtantiores evadere ſimus.* Plat. Dial. 4 de Leg.

ſon

ſon why *Trajan* became ſo eminent a Governour, be-
cauſe he added induſtry to his natural parts and ha-
the direction of ſuch a Maſter as *Plutarch*. Nor ha-
King *Peter* ſirnamed the Cruel, ever proved ſo barba-
rous and tyrannical had *John Alphonſo*, Duke of *Alb-
querque*, his Tutor, known how to mollifie and break hi-
haughty temper. There's the ſame difference in Men-
diſpoſitions as in Metals, ſome of which are proof a-
gainſt fire, others diſſolve in it; yet all give way to the
graving tools, are maleable and ductile. So there's no
humour ſo rugged but care and correction may have
ſome effect on. Altho' I confeſs Education is not al-
ways ſufficient of it ſelf to make men Vertuous, becauſe
many times under Purple as among Briars and Woods,
there ſpring up ſuch monſtrous Vices, particularly in
perſons of a great Spirit, as prove utterly Incorrigible.
What is more obvious than for young men to be debau-
ched by Luxury, Liberty or Flattery in Princes Courts,
where abundance of Vicious affections grow as Thorns,
as noxious and unprofitable weeds upon ill manured
Land. Wherefore Except theſe Courts are well inſti-
tuted the care taken in a good Education will be to
very little purpoſe; for they ſeem to be like Moulds
and accordingly ſo Form the Prince as themſelves are
well or ill diſpoſed, and thoſe Vertues or Vices which
have once began to be in repute in them, their mini-
ſters tranſmit to poſterity. A Prince is ſcarce Maſter
of his reaſon when his Courtiers out of flattery Cry
up the too great Liberty of his Parents and Anceſtors,
recommending to him ſome great and renowned Ac-
ons of theirs, which have been as it were the propriety
of his Family. Hence alſo it comes to paſs that ſome
particular Cuſtoms and Inclinations are propagated
from Father to Son in a continued ſucceſſion, not ſo
much by the Native force of their blood, (for neither
length of time nor Mixtures of Marriage are uſed to
Change them) as becauſe they are eſtabliſhed in the
Courts where Infancy imbibes them and as it were
turns them into nature, thus among the *Romans* the

Claudij

Claudii were reputed Proud, the *Scipio's* Warlike, the *Appii* ambitious; as now in *Spain* the *Guſmans* are looked upon to be Good Men, the *Mendozas* Humane, the *Mauriques* have the Character of Formidable, the *Toletan's* Severe and Grave. The ſame is Viſible in Artificers, when any of a family have attained an Excellency, they eaſily tranſmit it to their Children, the Spectatours of their Art and to whom they leave their Works and Monuments of their Labour. To all this may be added, that Flattery mixt with Errour ſometimes commends in a Boy for Vertue what by no means deſerves that name, as Lewdneſs, Oſtentation, Inſolence, Anger, Revenge and other Vices of the like nature; ſome men erroneouſly perſwading themſelves that they are tokens of a great Spirit; which withall induces 'em too eagerly to purſue theſe, to the neglect of real Vertues: as a Maid ſometimes if ſhe be commended for her free Carriage or Confidence, applies her ſelf to thoſe rather than Modeſty and Honeſty, the principal good Qualities of that Sex. Tho' indeed young men ought to be driven from all Vices in general, yet more eſpecially from thoſe which tend to Lazineſs or Hatred they being more eaſily imprinted in their minds (5). Care therefore muſt be taken that the Prince over-hear no filthy or obſcene expreſſions, much leſs ſhould he be ſuffered to uſe them himſelf: We eaſily execute what we make familiar to us in diſcourſe, at leaſt ſomething near it (6). Wherefore to prevent this Evil the *Romans* uſed to Chooſe out of their families ſome grave Antient Matron to be their Sons Governeſs, whoſe whole Care and Employment was to give them a good Education, in whoſe preſence it was not allowable to ſpeak a foul word or admit an indecent Action (7). The deſign of

(5) *Cauſſa igitur mala, ſed ea maximè quæ turpitudinem habent vel actum parent, ſunt procul à pueris removendi.* Ariſt. Pol. 7. c. 17. (6) *Nam ſimile turpia loquendo, efficitur ut homines his proxima faciant:* Ariſt. Pol. 7. c. 17. (7) *Coram quâ neque dicere fas eſt ac, quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhoneſtum factu videretur.* Quint. dial. de orat.

this

this severe discipline was that their nature being pre-served pure and untainted, they might readily em-brace honest professions (8). *Quintilian* laments the neglect of this manner of Education in his time, Children being usually brought up among servants, and so learning to imitate their Vices. Nor, says he, is any one of the family concerned what he says or does before his young Master, since even their parents don't so much inure them to Vertues and Modesty as La-sciviousness and Libertinism (9). Which to this day is usual in most Princes Courts: nor is there any remedy for it, but displacing those Vicious Courtiers and substituting others of approved Vertue who may excite the Princes mind to Actions more generous and such as tend to true honour (10). When a Court has once bid adieu to Vertue, 'tis often Changed but never for the better, nor does it desire a Prince better than it self. Thus *Nero's* family were Favourers of *Otho*, because he was like him (11). But if the Prince cannot do this, I think it were more adviseable for him to leave that Court, as we remember *James* the 1st. King of *Arragon* did, * when he saw himself Tyran-nized over by those who educated and confined him as it were in a prison: nor can I give those Courts any other name, where the principal aim is to enslave the princes will, and he is not suffered to go this way or that by choice and at his own pleasure, but is for-cibly guided as his Courtiers please, just as Water is conveighed thro' private Channels for the sole benefit of the ground thro' which it passes. To what purpose are good natural Parts and Education, if the Prince is

(8) *Quo disciplina, ac severitas eo pertinebat, ut sincera & integra, & nullis pravitatibus detorta uniuscujusque natura toto statim pectore arriperet artes honestas.* Quintil. Ibid. (9) *Nec quisquam in tota domo pensi habet quid coram infante domino, aut dicat aut faciat; quando etiam ipsi parentes, nec probitati neque modestiæ parvulos assuefaciunt, sed lasciviæ, & liber-tati.* Quint. ibid. (10) *Neq; enim auribus jucunda convenit dicere, sed ex quo aliquis gloriosus fiat.* Eurip. in Hippol. (11) *Prona in eum aula Neronis ut similem.* Tac. 1. Hist. * Mar. H R. Hisp.

suf-

ſuffered to ſee, hear and know no more than his Attendance think fit? What wonder if *Henry* the 4th. King of *Caſtile* † proved ſo negligent and ſluggiſh, ſo like his Father *John* the Second in all things, after he had been Educated among the ſame Flatterers that occaſioned his Fathers male Adminiſtration? Believe me, 'tis as impoſſible to form a good Prince in an ill Court, as to draw a ſtraight Line by a Crooked ſquare: there's not a wall there which ſome laſcivious hand has not ſullied; not a Corner but Echoes their diſſolute Courſe of Life: all that frequent the Court are ſo many Maſters and as it were Ideas of the Prince, for by long uſe and Converſation each imprint ſomething on him which may either be to his benefit or prejudice; and the more apt his Nature is to Learn, the ſooner and more eaſily he imbibes thoſe domeſtick Cuſtoms. I dare affirm that a Prince will be good if his Miniſters are ſo; bad if they be bad; an inſtance of this we have in the Emperor *Galba*, who when he light upon good Friends and Gentlemen, was governed by them, and his Conduct unblameable; if they were ill, himſelf was guilty of inadvertency (12).

Nor will it ſuffice to have thus reformed living and animate figures in a Court, without proceeding alſo to inanimate: for tho' the graving Tool and Pencil are but mute Tongues, yet Experience has taught us they are far more eloquent and perſwaſive. What an incitement to Ambition is *Alexander* the great's Statue? how ſtrangely do pictures of *Jupiter*'s lewd Amours inflame Luſt? beſides, for which our corrupt nature is blameable, Art is uſually more celebrated for theſe kind of things, than Vertuous inſtructive pieces; At firſt indeed the excellency of the workmanſhip makes thoſe pieces Valuable, but afterwards laſcivious perſons adorn the Walls with them to pleaſe and entertain the Eyes. There ſhould be no ſtatue or piece of painting al-

† Mac. Hiſt Hiſ. (12) *Amicorum, libertorumq; ubi in bonos incidiſſet, fine reprehenſione patiens. ſi mali forent, uſq; ad culpam ignarus.* Tac. 1. hiſt.

lowed,

lowed, but such as may Create in the Prince a glorious Emulation (13). The Heroick Atchievements of the Ancients are the propereſt subjects for Painting, Statuary and Sculpture; those let a Prince look on continually, those read; for Statues and Pictures are fragments of History always before our Eyes.

After the Vices of the Court have been (as far as possible) thus corrected, and the Princes humour and inclinations well known, let his Master or Tutor endeavour to lead him to some great undertaking, sowing in his Mind Seeds of Vertue and honour so secretly, that when they are grown it will be difficult to judge whether they were the product of Nature or Art. Let them incourage Vertue with Honour, brand Vice with Infamy and Disgrace, excite Emulation by Example; these things have a great Effect upon all Tempers, tho' more on some than others. Those who are of a Generous disposition, Glory influences most; the Melancholy, Ignominy; the Cholerick, Emulation, the Inconstant, Fear; the Prudent, Example; which is generally of most efficacy with all, especially that of Ancestors; for often what the Blood could not, Emulation does perform. 'Tis with Children as young trees on which you must Graff a branch (as I may say) of the same Father, to bring them to perfection. These Grafts are the famous examples which infuse into Posterity the Vertues of their Ancestors and bear excellent fruit. That therefore it may be conveighed as it were thro' all the Senses into the mind, and take deep Root there, should be the particular industry of his Instructors, and consequently they are not to be proposed to the Prince in ordinary Exhortations only or Reproofs, but also in sensible objects. Sometime let History put him in mind of the great Atchievements of his Ancestors, the glory of which eternized in print may excite him to imitate them. Sometimes Musick (that

(13) *Cum autem ne quis talia loquatur prohibetur, satis intelligitur vetari, ne turpes, vel picturas vel fabulas spectet.* Arist. 7 Pol. cap. 17.

sweet

ſweet and wonderfull Governeſs of the paſſions) playing their Trophies and Triumphs, will be proper to Raiſe his Spirits. Sometimes let him hear Panegyricks recited upon their Life, to encourage and animate him to an Emulation of their Vertues, now and then reciting them himſelf, or with his young Companions Act over their Exploits as upon a ſtage, thereby to inflame his mind: for the force and efficacy of the action is by degrees ſo imprinted on him that he appears the very ſame whoſe perſon he repreſents: Laſtly let him play the part of a King amongſt them, receive petitions, give audience, ordain; puniſh, reward, command or marſhal an Army, beſiege Cities and give Battel. In experiments of this nature *Cyrus* was educated from a little Boy and became afterwards an eminent General. But if there be any inclinations unbecoming a Prince diſcernible in his Infancy, he ſhould have the Company of ſuch as are eminent for the oppoſite Vertues to correct the Vices of his Nature; as we ſee a ſtraight Pole does the Crookedneſs of a tender Tree tyed to it. Thus if the Prince be covetous, let one naturally liberal be always at his Elbow; if a Coward, one bold and daring; if timorous, one reſolute and active; if Idle and Lazy, one diligent and induſtrious: for thoſe of that Age as they imitate what they ſee or hear, ſo they alſo eaſily copy their Companions Cuſtoms. To Conclude, in Education of Princes too rough Reprehenſion and Chaſtiſement is to be avoided as a kind of Contempt. Too much Rigour makes men mean ſpirited; nor is it fit, that he ſhould be ſervilely ſubject to One Man, who ought to Command all. It was well ſaid of King *Alphonſus, Generous Spirits are ſooner corrected by words than blows, and love and reſpect thoſe moſt who uſe them ſo.*

Youth is like a young horſe that the Barnacle hurts, but is eaſily governed by the gentler Bit. Beſides that men of generous Spirits uſually conceive a ſecret horrour of thoſe things they learnt thro' fear; on the contrary have an inclination and deſire to try

those Vices which in their Childhood were prohibited them. Affections too much confined (especially such as nature endows a Prince withall) break out at last into Despair, as Exhalations hard bound within the Clouds, into Lightning. He that imprudently shuts the gates upon natural inclinations, is the occasion of their attempting to get thro' the Windows. Some allowance is to be made to humane infirmity, which is by some innocent diversions to be raised to Vertue: this method they took who had the Care of *Nero*'s Education (14). The Tutor ought to chide the Prince in private, not before Company, least he rather grow obstinate when he sees his Vices are publick. In these two Verses of *Homer* is very aptly contained how a Prince ought to be instructed how to obey:

Advise, Command him, and what's good suggest
He will obey when for himself 'tis best. Hom. 2. *Il.*

(14) *Quo facilius lubricam Principis ætatem, si veritatem aspernaretur, voluptatibus concessus, retineret.* Tac. 13. ann.

EMBLEM III.

BY the industry of some ingenious and carefull hand one while watering, another time defending it from the injuries of Wind and ill Weather, the Rose grows, and as the Bud opens unfolds its little leaves into a circular form: A flower strangely pretty, but which flatters only the Eyes, and is subject to so many casualties, that in this its infinite delicacy 'tis by no means secure. The very same Sun which saw it bloom, sees it also whither, and that without any other benefit, than just shewing the World its beauty; it brings so many months Labour to nothing, nay oftentimes wounds the very hand that planted it; nor could it be otherwise than that such rank tillage should produce thorns. Of Coral (a Sea shrub) there's quite another account to be given; for that growing under Water, and continually toss'd by the Violence of

Waves and Tempeſtuous Winds becomes ſo much the harder and more beautiful; nay, then firſt is it more illuſtriouſly uſeful, when it has underwent the rage of ſo many Elements. Such contrary Effects ariſe from the different manner of growing of this Shrub, and that Flower in reſpect of ſoftneſs and hardneſs. The ſame happens in the Education of Princes, for they who are brought up ſo tenderly and cloſely that neither the Sun, Wind or other Air can come to them, but that of perfumes, prove too delicate and little fit for Government; they on the contrary are ſtrong and able who inure their Bodies to laborious Exerciſes. It's alſo convenient to uſe ones ſelf to Cold from our infancy as a thing of great advantage to health, and that will enable us to undergo Military duties (1). By theſe Exerciſes Life is prolonged, by Voluptuouſneſs and Luxury ſhortned. a Veſſel of Glaſs formed with a blaſt of the Mouth, is with a blaſt broken; Whereas one of Gold wrought with a hammer reſiſts a hammer. 'Tis no matter if he that lives a private and retired Life, be delicate; but one who is to ſupport a Kingdom, as *Atlas* the Heavens, upon his ſhoulders, had need be ſtrong and robuſt. A Common-wealth has not occaſion for a Prince only for a ſhew, but in the Field alſo and in time of War, and in Scripture we find an effeminate King mentioned as a kind of divine puniſhment (2). The advantage or diſadvantage of this different Education was viſible in the Two Kings, *John* the Second, and *Ferdinand* the Catholick, one of which had his at Court, the other in the Camp; that among Women, this among Soldiers; that entring his Government ſeem'd to ſail into a ſtrange Gulf, and leaving the Helm, committed the guidance of it to his Miniſters; this was neither ignorant of, nor unacquainted with Govern-

(1) *Eſt etiam utile ſtatim ab ineunte ætate frigoribus aſſueſcere, hoc enim tum ad valetudinem, tum ad munera militaria commodiſſimum eſt.* Ariſt. Pol. 7. cap 17. (2) I will give Children to be their Princes, and Babes to rule over them, *Iſai.* 3. 4.

ment;

ment; but knew how to Rule even in another's Dominion, and force Subjects to their Duty; that was contemn'd, this honoured and esteemed by all; that ruined his Kingdom, this advanced to a Monarchy. 'Twas upon this consideration that King *Ferdinand* Sir-named the holy, was desirous to breed his Sons, *Alphonso* and *Ferdinand*, Soldiers. And what else was it rendred the Emperour *Charles* really great, as well as titularly so? was it not his continual Travels and indefatigable Labours? Nor had *Tiberius* any other thoughts when he design'd his Sons *Germanicus* and *Drusus* for the Army, chiefly for these four Reasons; that they might accustom themselves to War; gain the Soldiers hearts; be free from the Debauchery of the Court; and Lastly that himself might live in more security when both his Sons commanded his Legions (3).

He that lives in a Camp, by the many Experiences he has there, spends his time to advantage; the Courtier utterly loses his in Riot, Ceremonies and trifling Diversions. At Court a Prince studies more how to set off his Body than improve his Mind. And tho' this latter is rather to be regarded, yet Ornaments of the Body, and a comely Presence should not be wholly neglected. For those captivate the Eyes, as this does the Eyes and Soul. God himself seem'd pleased with the shape and proportion of *Saul* (4). *Ethiopians* and *Indians* in some parts choose them Kings, whom the most Majestick Mien recommends: as the Bees do the biggest among them, and that of the most shining Colour. People Judge of a Prince's Actions by his Presence, and think him the best who is the Comeliest. *Galba*'s very Age, says *Tacitus*, was ridiculed and seorn'd by those who were used to *Nero*'s

(3) *Ut suesceret, Militiæ, studiaq; exercitui pararet, simul juventutem urbano luxu lascivientem mediis in castris haberi Tiberius, seque tutiorem rebatur, utroq; filio legiones obtinente.* Tac. 2. ann. (4) And when he stood among the people, he was higher than any of the people from the shoulders upwards, 1 *Sam.* 10. 22.

blooming Youth (5). A handſome face joyned with a kind of Majeſty encreaſed *Veſpaſian's* fame (6). Thus Beauty ſtrikes the Eyes, and thro' them wounding the Soul engages Mens affections and good opinions: 'tis a particular privilege of nature, a pleaſing Tyrant over the affections and a certain Sign of a well diſpoſed mind; and tho' the holy Spirit for more ſecurity adviſes us not to judge by exteriours, yet do we ſeldom find a generous Soul in a deformed body (7).

'Twas a ſaying of *Plato's*, that as a Circle can't be without a Center, ſo neither can external Beauty Conſiſt without interiour Vertue. King *Alphonſus* therefore well adviſed to have a Prince Marryed to a handſome Woman, *that* ſays he, *the Children may be beautifull as a Prince's ought to be, that they may be above other men.*

The *Lacedæmonians* fined their King *Archiadinus* for Marrying a little Woman, however Wittily he excuſed himſelf by ſaying, *of two Evils he had choſe the leſs.* Beauty of the Body is the image of the Soul and picture of Goodneſs (8). It nevertheleſs happens ſometimes that nature intent upon outward perfections forgets inward which are more deſirable. So it was with *Peter* the Cruel, whoſe ſavage and rough diſpoſition Nature had concealed under an agreeable Perſon. Pride and Oſtentation of Beauty eaſily diſcompoſe the Modeſty of Vertue; a Prince therefore ſhould not eſteem feminine and affected Charms, which ſerve only to inflame another's Luſt; but thoſe which uſually accompany true Vertue; for the Soul is not to be adorned with the Beauties of the Body, but this rather with the Ornaments of the Soul.

A Commonwealth requires a Prince perfect in mind rather than One ſo in Body; tho' twere a great orna-

(5) *Ipſa ætas Galbæ & irriſui & faſtidio erat aſſuetis juventæ Neronis, & Imperatores forma & decore corporis, (ut eſt mos vulgi) comparantibus.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (6) *Augebat famam ipſius decor oris cum quadam Majeſtate.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (7) Commend not a Man for his beauty, neither abhor a man for his outward appearance. *Eccleſ* 11.2. (8) *Species enim corporis ſimulacrum eſt mentis, figuraq; probitatis.* Ambr. 2. de vir.

ment

ment if he were eminent for both. Thus the Palm is ſingularly commended, as well for the neatneſs of its Trunck and Leaves, as for the pleaſant Fruit it bears, and other excellent qualities of it, being a Tree ſo uſefull, that *Plutarch* ſays the *Babylonians* reckoned 360 Vertues in it; theſe, I conceive, the Complement of the Cœleſtial Bridegroom points at, *Thy ſtature is like to a Palm Tree* (9). For by theſe words he would commend not only the beauty of his Spouſe's Body, but the endowments alſo of her Soul, ſignified by the Palm as 'tis an Emblem of Juſtice and Fortitude: of Juſtice becauſe its leaves hang in æquilibrio; of Fortitude upon the account of the admirable ſtrength of the Boughs, which the more weight they are loaded with, the more forcibly grow up. 'Tis further an Hieroglyphick of Victory, becauſe in the Games and Exerciſes of the Ancients, the Victors were crowned with Branches of it. The Cypreſs was never eſteemed at this Rate, however flouriſhing and green it always is, lifting its ſelf even up to heaven in form of an Obelisk: for that its beauty is meer outſide without any good quality inherent in it; it's of a ſlow growth, bears uſeleſs fruit, bitter leaves, has a ſtrong ſmell and taſte, a thick and melancholy ſhade. To what purpoſe is a Prince of a delicate Body, if he only ſatisfies the Eyes, and does not diſcharge his Duty. There needs no more in him than an agreeable harmony of parts to ſhew a generous and well diſpoſed mind, into which afterwards Art and Induſtry may inſpire Motion and Vigour, for without that every Action of a Prince will be dull, and rather cauſe Ridicule and Contempt than procure Authority with his Subjects. But ſometimes theſe extraordinary Endowments of the Mind don't render a Prince amiable, as when the State is diſtempered and inclined to Change its Government, which *Ferdinand* King of *Naples* had once Experience of; 'nay ſometimes Vertue her ſelf is unhappy, and a good Prince

(9) Cant. 7. 7.

often odious; as on the other ſide his Vices taking, as were thoſe of *Vitellius* (11). But for the generality humane Will embraces that which is moſt perfect; and it will be therefore a Prince's intereſt as well in publick as private Exerciſes, to ſtudy by them to ſupply and perfect Nature, to ſtrengthen himſelf in his Youth, to create generous Thoughts in his Mind, and in all things to pleaſe the People: for the Perſon of a Prince ſhould not only court the Minds but Eyes too of his Subjects (12), who chooſe to be governed by him in whom they ſee moſt Ornaments of Nature and Vertue. Our moſt Catholick King, Your Highneſs's Father, by the pains he took and reſolution he ſhewed at a Chaſe, by his Valour and Dexterity in Military Exerciſes, his ſingular Carriage and Vivacity in publick Actions, what vaſt Reputation did he gain? How beloved by their Subjects, and eſteemed by Foreigners were the Kings *Ferdinand* the holy, *Henry* the II, *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and the Emperour *Charles* the Vth. in whom Beauty and a juſt Proportion of Body were joyn'd with Induſtry, Vertue and Valour. But thoſe Exerciſes are better learnt by Converſation and in Company, where Emulation enflames the Mind and awakens Induſtry. For this reaſon the Kings of the *Goths* Educated the Sons of the *Spaniſh* Nobility in their Courts, not only to lay an Obligation upon thoſe Families, but that their own Sons might have their Education and learn the Sciences with them. The ſame thoſe of *Macedon* uſed to do (13), among whom the Court was as it were a ſeminary of Commanders. Which good Cuſtom is either utterly forgot, or at leaſt has not been hitherto in Vogue in the Court of *Spain*. 'Twere otherwiſe the propereſt means in the world to engage the Hearts of foreign Princes,

(11) *Studia exercitus rarò cuiquam bonis artibus quæſita, perinde ad fuere quam hæc per ignaviam.* Tac. 3 Hiſt. (12) *Perſona Principis non ſolum animis, ſed etiam oculis ſervire debet civium.* Cic. Phil. 8. (13) *Hæc cohors, velut ſeminarium Ducum, Præfecto unquam apud Macedonas fuit.* Curt.

to institute Seminaries of that Nature, to which their Sons might travel and be instructed in Arts and Sciences worthy a Prince. From which also this advantage would arise, that the King's Sons would insensibly be accustomed to the Manners and Genius of those Nations, and meet with a great many among them, who with singular Affection and Gratitude for so good an Education would return the Obligation with their Service. To this End King *Alphonsus* surnamed the wise, in the Second of his excellent Laws, call'd the *Partidas*, has drawn up a Catalogue of those Arts and Duties it is proper for Kings Sons to be exercised in.

For all these Exercises nothing renders a Prince so fit as Hunting, for herein Youth exerts it self, becomes strong and active; that gives occasion to use Military Arts, to view Ground, measure the time, know when to expect, when assault and strike, what use to make of Accidents and Stratagems. There the sight of the Blood of wild Beasts, and the trembling Motion of their Limbs as they expire, purge the Affections, fortify the Mind, and inspire generous Thoughts, such as despise Fear and Danger: for the Solitude of a Wood and that Silence which usually is kept in Hunting raise the Thoughts to glorious Actions (14).

Lastly all those Exercises are to be used with that moderation that they render not the Mind either wild or stupid; for the Mind is no less harden'd with too much Labour, and made as it were callous and insensible, than the Body. 'Tis therefore not convenient to fatigue both at the same time, for these Labours have contrary Effects; that of the Body is a hindrance to the Mind, that of the Mind to the Body (15).

(14) *Nam & silva solitudo, ipsumq; illud silentium quod venationi datur, magna cogitationu incitamenta sunt.* Plin. lib. 1. Epist. ad Cor. Tac.

(15) *Nam simul mentem & corpus laboribus fatigare non convenit, quoniam bi labores contrariarum rerum efficientes sunt. Labor enim corpori mentis est impedimento, mentis autem corpori.* Arist. Pol. 8. C. 4.

EMBLEM IV.

KNowledge is necessary in a Governour, in a Subject natural Prudence is sufficient, nay sometimes meer Ignorance. In the Idea and Contrivance of a Building the Brain is employed, in the Fabrick it self the Hand labours. Command proceeds from Understanding and is quick-sighted, Obedience is ignorant generally and blind (1). He is by nature a Commander who is most intelligent. Whereas others are so either by Succession, Election or Conquest, which depend more upon Fortune than Reason. Wherefore we shall reckon the Sciences among the politick instruments of Government: so *Justinian*; *Imperial Majesty*, says he, *ought to be Armed as well with Laws as*

(1) *Præst autem natura, qui valet intelligentia providere.* Arist. Pol. 1. Cap. 4.

Arms,

Arms, that the time of peace and War may be equally well governed (2). This 'tis you have exhibited in the preſent Emblem under the figure of a Cannon levelled for the better aim, by a quadrant, the Emblem of the Laws and Juſtice; for this ſhould ſo manage Peace and War that what's Juſt be always in View, and Reaſon be the mark at which all things be aimed by the medium of Wiſdom and Prudence. 'Tis related of *Alphonſus* King of *Naples* and *Arragon*, that being ask'd upon this Subject, which he was moſt indebted to, his Arms or Studies? he made anſwer: *That 'twas from his Books he had learnt Arms and the Laws of Arms* (3).

But ſome one may perhaps think theſe Ornaments of Learning are more convenient for the body of a Commonwealth, which the word Majeſty ſeems to import, than the Prince, who being diſtracted with Publick Buſineſs, can't apply himſelf to them; that 'twere ſufficient to make Learning flouriſh, if he entertained and patronized Men of Ingenuity; which the ſame Emperour *Juſtinian* did, who tho' himſelf utterly illiterate, with the Aſſiſtance of Men of the greateſt Learning, whoſe Converſation he had, got the Reputation of an eminent Governour. For my part, tho' I make nō difficulty to grant that even men of no literature may ſometimes govern a Commonwealth well, as we have inſtances in K. *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and many others; yet this only holds in thoſe Genius's that Experience has improved, or at leaſt ſuch as are endowed by Nature with ſo acute a Judgment that they can determine any thing without danger of Errour (4). But tho' Prudence may have ſome efforts from Nature, yet tis to be perfected by Learning; for to know well how to choſe whats good, and reject the contrary, a

(2) *Imperatoriam Majeſtatem non ſolum armis decoratam, ſed etiam legibus oportet eſſe armatam, ut utrumq; tempus & belli & pacis recte poſſit gubernari.* Juſt. in proœm. Inſt. (3) *Ex libris ſe arma, & armorum Jura diſciſſe.* Panorm. lib. 4. (4) *Etſi prudentia quædam impetus à natura ſumat tamen perficienda doctrinâ eſt.* Quint. lib. 12. c. 11.

general

general knowledge is almoſt neceſſary, and a long obſervation of Examples both paſt and preſent, which is not perfectly to be attained without labour and ſtudy; nothing therefore is ſo neceſſary to a Prince as the Light and Ornament of good Literature; *For for want of the knowledge of theſe things* (ſays K. *Alphonſo*) *a Prince will be oblig'd to take to his aſſiſtance, one who does underſtand them; and he may experience what King* Solomon *ſaid, That he who entruſts his ſecret with another, makes himſelf his ſlave, whereas he who can keep it himſelf, is Maſter of himſelf, which is infinitely requiſite in a Prince.* For the Office of a King requires a great underſtanding and that too illuſtrated with Learning, *for without doubt,* ſays K. *Alphonſo* in the ſame Law, *no man can acquit himſelf of an Office of ſuch importance as this, at leaſt without great underſtanding and wiſdom,* whence he who ſcorns the favours of Knowledge and Education, will be ſcorn'd by God, who is the Author of them. Other Sciences have been divinely infuſed into many; none but *Solomon* was ever inſpired with Politicks. For Tilling ground, Agriculture preſcribes certain Rules; the Art of Taming wild Beaſts has alſo its Methods, but 'tis eaſier to command any Animal than Man, 'tis neceſſary therefore that he be endued with an extraordinary portion of Wiſdom who has Men to govern (5). The different Cuſtoms and Diſpoſitions of Subjects can't without conſiderable Sagacity, Application and Experience be diſcovered: and conſequently no man requires Wiſdom more than a Prince (6). 'Tis that makes Kingdoms happy, Princes feared and reverenced. Then was *Solomon* ſo, when the World became acquainted with his. Knowledge renders a Prince more formidable than Power (7). *A wiſe King,* ſays the holy Spirit, *is the upholding of the people: But an un-*

(5) *Omni animali facilius imperabis quam homini, ideo ſapientiſſimum eſſe oportet, qui hominibus regere velit.* Xenoph. (6) *Nullâ eſt, cui ſapientia magis conveniat, quam Principi, cujus doctrina omnibus debet proeſſe ſubditis,* Veget. (7) Wiſd. 5, 26.

wiſe

wise King destroyeth them (8). All which shews how barbarous the Opinion of the Emperour *Licinius* was, who cryed out upon the Sciences as a publick Plague, Philosophers and Orators as Poison to a Commonwealth; nor does that of the *Goths* appear less absurd, who found fault with *Athalaricus*'s Mother for instructing him in good Letters, as if he was thereby rendred incapable of publick Business. *Silvius Æneas* had quite other sentiments of them, when he said they were Silver in the Commonalty, Gold in the Nobility, and in the Prince Jewels. *Alphonso* of *Naples* upon hearing once a certain King say, *That Learning did not become a Prince*; Replyed immediately, *That's spoke rather like a Beast, than a man* (9). Well therefore said K. *Alphonso* †, *That a King ought to be assiduous in Learning the Sciences, for by them he will learn the Office of a King, and know better how to practise it.* Of *Julius Cæsar* 'tis related that he would have the Statuary form him, standing upon a terrestrial Globe with a Sword in one Hand, in the other a Book with this Motto, *Ex utroq; Cæsar*; thereby intimating that as well his Learning as his Arms was instrumental in getting and preserving to him the Empire. *Lewis* the XIth of *France* did not esteem Learning at this rate; for he would not permit his Son *Charles* the 8th. to apply himself to it, because he found himself thereby so obstinate and opinionative as not to admit the Counsel of any, which was the reason why *Charles* proved afterwards unfit to govern, and suffered himself to be led by the Nose by every one, not without great Dishonour to himself and detriment to his whole Kingdom. Extreams therefore in that as in all other things are to be avoided, supine Ignorance breeds Contempt and Derision, besides it is exposed to a thousand Errours; on the other side excessive Application to Studies distracts the Mind and diverts it from the Care of Government. The Conversation of

(8) Eccl. 10. 3 (9) *Eam vocem bovis esse, non hominis.* Panorm. lib. 4. † lib. 15 c. 5. p. 2.

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the Muſe is very pleaſant and agreeable, and no one would without Reluctancy exchange it for the Fatigue and Trouble of Audiences and Conſultations. *Alphonſus* the Wiſe knew the Cauſes of Earthquakes, but could not regulate the Commotions of his Kingdoms; the Cœleſtial orbs his Ingenuity penetrated, yet knew not how to defend the Empire offered, and Crown hereditary to him. The Sultan of *Egypt* upon his fame ſent Embaſſadours to him with very conſiderable preſents, in the mean time almoſt all the Cities of *Caſtile* revolted. Thus it uſually happens; Princes too much addicted to the Studies of Wiſdom advance their Reputation among Foreigners, and loſe it with their Subjects. Their Learning is admired by thoſe, to theſe ſometimes prejudicial; for Men of mean parts are generally better Governours than men of ingenuity (10). A Mind too intent upon Speculation is uſually ſlow in Action, and fearful in Reſolution, for of neceſſity many different and contrary Reaſons muſt occur to ſuch a Perſon, which either wholly take away or obſtruct the liberty of his Judgment. If an Eye looks upon Objects by the Sun's Light reflected, it clearly and diſtinctly ſees them as they are; whereas if it be fixed directly againſt the Sun's Rays, 'tis ſo dazled with too much luſtre, that it can't ſo much as diſtinguiſh the Colours and Figures of them. It happens thus to Wits; thoſe who too eagerly apply themſelves to the Studies of Wiſdom and Learning are leſs fit for publick buſineſs. Right Reaſon never judges better than when free and diſengaged from the Diſputations and Subtilties of the Schools; nor without Reaſon did the wiſe K. *Solomon* call that the worſt of Travails which himſelf had tryed (11). For there are ſome of the li-

(10) *Hebetiores quam acutiores ut plurimum melius Rempub. adminiſtrant.* Thucyd. lib. 3. (11) I gave my Heart to ſearch out by Wiſdom, concerning all things that are done under Heaven: This ſore Travail hath God given to the Sons of Men, to be exerciſed with. *Eccleſ.* 1. 13.

beral

beral Sciences, which to have a ſuperficial Knowledge of is commendable, but to make them ones whole Buſineſs, and deſire to attain a Perfection in them, very prejudicial (12). Wherefore 'tis very convenient that prudence moderate a little that deſire of knowledge which is uſually moſt vehement in the beſt Wits; as we read *Agricola*'s Mother did, who cooled the heat of her Sons Mind, when in his youth he ſeem'd to follow the ſtudy of Philoſophy more eagerly than was allowable for a *Roman* and Senatour (13). As in Vices ſo in Learning there is exceſs (14): and this is as hurtful to the mind as thoſe to the Body. It will ſuffice therefore for a Prince to taſt the Arts and Sciences as 'twere *en paſſant*; ſome practical knowledge of them will be more for his advantage, particularly thoſe which relate to the Affairs of Peace and War, taking as much out of them as will ſuffice to illuſtrate his underſtanding and regulate his Judgment, leaving the honour of being excellent in them to his Inferiours; let him paſs only his leiſure hours in this Noble Exerciſe as *Tacitus* ſays *Helvidius Priſcus* uſed to do (15).

This granted, thoſe are not always to be eſteem'd the beſt Tutors for Princes, who are moſt eminent for Learning and Knowledge, for they are generally too great Lovers of Retirement and ſtudious Idleneſs, Strangers to converſation, Men of no Reſolution and very unfit for the management of weighty Affairs. But thoſe rather who are Learned and Experienced Politicians, who beſides the Sciences can teach a Prince the Art of Government.

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(12) *Sunt enim quædam ex liberalibus ſcientiis quæ uſque ad aliquid diſcere honeſtum ſit, penitus vero illis tradere atque uſq; ad extremum perſequi velle, valde noxium* Ariſt. lib. 8. Pol. (13) *ſed in prima juventa ſtudium Philoſophiæ acrius quam conceſſum Rom. ac ſenatori hauſiſſe, ut prudentia matris inſenſum ac flagrantem animum coercuiſſet.* Tac. in vit. Agr. (14) *Retinuitq; quod difficillimum eſt ex ſapientia modum.* Ibid. (15) *Ingenium illuſtre altioribus ſtudiis juvenis admodum dedit, non ut plerique, ut nomine magnifico otium velaret, ſed quo firmior adverſus fortuita Reipub. ſuppeteret.* Tac. lib 4. Hiſt.

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The firſt thing to be inſtilled into a Prince is the fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wiſedom (16). He who adheres to God is very near the fountain of all Sciences. To know what is human only, is Ignorance, the daughter of Malice, which is the ruine of Princes and Commonwealths.

Another neceſſary qualification in a Prince is Eloquence, that pleaſing Tyrant over the Paſſions, that ſweetly allures Mens Wills to a Submiſſion to its Commands. That great Prophet *Moſes* knew of what Conſequence this was, and therefore when he was ſent into *Egypt* to conduct the Children of *Iſrael* thence, made this excuſe to God that he was ſlow of ſpeech and of a ſlow Tongue (17). And God took this for a reaſon, and accordingly to encourage him, promiſed to aſſiſt his Lips and put into his Mouth the Words he ſhould ſpeak to *Pharaoh* (18). What did not *Solomon* promiſe himſelf from his Eloquence? I *ſhall be admired*, ſays he, *in the ſight of great men. When I hold my Tongue they ſhall bide my Leiſure, and when I ſpeak they ſhall give good Ear unto me; if I talk much they ſhall lay their hands upon their mouth* (19). And certainly if naked eloquence has power ſo ſtrangely to captivate an audience, what can't it do if armed with Regal Power, or cloathed with Purple? a Prince who can't ſpeak his Mind without the aſſiſtance of another (a fault *Nero* was firſt obſerved to be guilty of (20)) is rather a dumb ſtatue, and deſerves not the Name of a Prince. Hiſtory is the Miſtriſs of Political truth (21), than which nothing can better inſtruct a Prince how to rule his Subjects. For in that, as in a clear Mirrour, appears the Experience of

(16) Pſal. 100. 10. (17) O my Lord, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore, nor ſince thou haſt ſpoken to thy Servant: I am but ſlow of ſpeech, and of a ſlow tongue. *Exod* 4. 10. (18) I will be in thy mouth, and teach thee what thou ſhalt ſay. *Exod.* 4. 12. (19) *Wiſd.* 8. 12. (20) *Primus ex iis, qui rerum potiti eſſent, Neronem alienæ facundiæ eguiſſe.* Tac. 1. Ann. (21) *Veriſſimam diſciplinam, exercitationemq; ad politicas actiones, Hiſtoriam eſſe.* Polyb. lib. 1.

former

former governments, the prudence of Predeceſſours, and the Souls of many Men collected into one (22). Hiſtory is like a faithful Counſellor, always ready and at hand. Of Law the Prince need only ſtudy that part which relates to Government, turning over ſuch Laws and Conſtitutions of his Kingdom as were by right Reaſon dictated or by Cuſtom approved.

Let him not ſpend much time in the ſtudy of divinity; for how dangerous that knowledge and power in conjunction is, *England* has experienced in K. *James*, 'tis enough for a Prince to perſevere himſelf in the faith and have about him devout and Learned Men able to defend it.

Laſtly Judicial Aſtrology has been the ruine of many Princes; for that deſire of knowing future events is in all Men vehement, eſpecially in Princes, for they promiſing to themſelves great Authority if they can be looked upon as equal to the Gods, or do any thing above the common reach of Mankind, follow theſe ſuperſtitious and odious Arts: nay ſometimes arrive to that degree of madneſs, to aſcribe all things to ſecond cauſes, and utterly deſtroy divine providence by imputing all to chance and divination, whence it happens that while they attribute more to Chance and Fortune than humane Prudence or Induſtry, they are too remiſs in their Deſigns and Actions, and oftner adviſe with Aſtrologers than their Counſellours.

(22) *Hominum multorum mens in unum collecta.* Greg. Naz. ad Nicom.

EMBLEM V.

THE Sciences have bitter Roots, though the Fruit be ſweet; for this reaſon our Nature at firſt has an Averſion for them, and no labour appears ſo harſh as what muſt be employed on their firſt Rudiments: What Pains and Anxiety do they coſt Youth? Upon which account, and becauſe Studies require aſſiduous Application, a thing very injurious to Health, and which the Buſineſs and Diverſions of the Court don't permit; the Maſter ſhould be induſtrious in inventing ſeveral means to qualify this troubleſome Inſtitution by diſguiſing it under ſome pleaſant Game, that the Prince's mind may imbibe what he is to learn inſenſibly. For inſtance, to teach him to read he may uſe this contrivance; let there be made four and twenty ſmall Dice, on each of them be engraven a Letter of the Alphabet, then let ſome Children play, and he win who at one Caſt throws

throws moſt Syllables, or an entire Word. Theſe little Victories and Entertainments will take off much of the difficulty of this Task, for 'tis far more hard to play at Cards, which, however Children preſently learn. Now, to teach the Prince to Write in a way as ſhort, I would have the Letters engraven of a thin Plate, this put upon Paper, and him to go over theſe Tracts of Characters, as ſo many little Furrows, with his Hand and Pen; eſpecially exerciſing himſelf in thoſe Letters of which the reſt are framed. Thus, while he Attributes to his own Wit and Induſtry, what is only the effect of this artificial Plate, he will by degrees be more pleaſed with thoſe Labours. Nor is skill in Languages leſs neceſſary for a Prince; for always to uſe an Interpreter, or read only Tranſactions, is a thing too liable to deceit, or at leaſt the truth thereby loſes much of its Force and Energy: Not to mention that it can't but be very hard for a Subject not to be underſtood by him, from whom he is to expect Comfort in his Afflictions, to have his Miſeries relieved, and to be gratified for his Services. This moved the Patriarch *Joſeph*, when he was made Commander over *Egypt*; before all things to apply himſelf to learn the Languages moſt in uſe there, and which he did not underſtand (1). What Love and Eſteem does at this day, the Emperor *Ferdinand* the Third's Skill in Languages procured him, being able to anſwer every one in his own Native Idiom; but a Prince is not to be inſtructed in this by way of Precepts, for they confound the Memory; but rather great Perſons Sons of Foreign Countries ſhould be taken into his Family, by whoſe familiar Converſation he may in a few Months time, and that with a little Pains, and as it were by way of Diverſion, make ſo great a Proficiency, as to be acquainted with the Language of each of them.

That he may alſo know the uſe of *Geography* and *Coſmography*, (without which Policy is in a manner blind)

(1) Pſalm 81. 6.

it were not amiss to furnish and hang his Chamber with Tapistry so artificial wrought, as to represent a kind of General Description or Map of the Universe, that is, the Four Quarters of the World, and most Remarkable Countries, together with the more celebrated Rivers, Mountains, Cities, and other places of Note. By the same contrivance may the Lakes be disposed, that he may fancy he sees in them, as in your Sea-Charts, the Situation of the whole Sea, its Ports and Islands. In Globes and Mathematical Spheres, he may see the Extent of both Hemispheres, the Motion of the Heavens, the Sun's Course, its Rising and Setting, the Vicissitude of Days and Nights, and all this by way of Discourse and Divertisement, leaving the Mathematicians subtle way of arguing and demonstrating to the Schools. It will suffice in *Geometry*, if he know how to Measure distances, take Altitudes and Depths with Instruments. 'Tis withal necessary that he learn Fortification, and accordingly for Instructions sake may raise Forts of Clay, or some such material, with all sorts of Trenches, Breast-works, Pallisadoes, Bastions, Half Moons, and other things necessary for the Defence of them; then he may Assault and play upon them with little Artillery made for that purpose. But to fix those Figures of Fortification more firmly in his Memory, 'twould be for his advantage to have the like artificially contrived in Gardens, cut in Myrtle, or any other Greens, as you see in the present Emblem.

Nor ought a Prince be ignorant how to Marshal an Army; to that end let him have Soldiers of all sorts, Foot and Horse, Cast in Metal; of these he may Compose an Army, distribute them into Regiments, Troops, Companies, in imitation of some Model, which he may have before him for that purpose. Plays ought always to be in imitation of things to be afterwards practised with more seriousness (2). By this means he will in-

(2) *Itaque ludi magna ex parte imitationes esse debent earum rerum, quæ serio postea obeundæ.* Arist. Pol. 7. c. 17.

sensibly

ſenſibly, and without any trouble take to theſe Arts; and when the light of Reaſon is riſen in him, be more capable of a perfect knowledge of them by Converſation of Men of Learning (3), and ſuch particularly as have been converſant with, and exerciſed in Affairs both of Peace and War, who will diſcover to him the Cauſes and Effects of each particular. For the knowledge of thoſe things is at this time more uſeful, eaſier acquired, and fatigues the mind leaſt (4).

Let no one look on theſe Exerciſes to be of no conſequence in Education of Kings and Princes Children; for Experience, the beſt Miſtreſs, teaches us, That Boys learn many things of their own accord, which they had not attained by the Inſtruction of a Maſter without much difficulty. Much leſs ſhould any imagine that the variety of theſe methods rather prejudices than promotes Education. If to tame and maſter an Horſe, ſo many Inſtruments are neceſſary, as the Bit, Bridle, Rains, Barnacle, and thoſe too of different ſorts; if ſo many Precepts are needful as have been written upon this Subject, what Care and Induſtry ſhall we think ſufficient to form a perfect Prince, who is not only to Command the ignorant Vulgar, but even the Maſters of the Sciences? To govern Men is not the Gift of Nature, but rather of Experience and Speculation; it ſeems to be the Art of Arts, the Science of Sciences, of which never any one will attain the Perfection (5). I am not ignorant, Sir, the Perſon your Highneſs has for a Maſter, is for the happineſs of our Monarchy, ſo well furniſhed with theſe Arts and Sciences, that he can't but in a ſhort time bring your Highneſs to a conſiderable Perfection in them: However theſe Advertiſements, I could not omit purſuing my deſign in this Treatiſe to be beneficial as far as poſſible, not only to your Highneſs, but all other Princes now and hereafter.

(3) A wiſe Man will hear, and will increaſe Learning; and a Man of underſtanding ſhall attain unto wiſe Counſel. *Prov.* 1. 5. (4) *Eccl.* 39. 3. (5) *Mihi videtur ars artium & ſcientia ſcientiarum, dominam regere, animal tam varium & multiplex.* Greg. Naz. in Apolog.

EMBLEM VI.

THE heavenly Bridegroom has made uſe of the Body of this Emblem in the Book of *Canticles* to expreſs the Ornaments of his Brides Virtues (1): and the ſame the Lilies that crowned and perfected the Pillars of *Solomon*'s Temple, ſeem to allude to (2), as do thoſe which beautified the Candleſtick of the Tabernacle (3). This put me upon deſigning in the preſent Emblem, to repreſent by the Wheat, the Sciences; by the Lilies, the Arts and polite Learning which they ought to be graced with. Nor am I without Precedent or Authority, for *Procopius* long ago by Ears of Corn underſtood Diſci-

(1) Thy Belly is like an heap of Wheat, ſet about with Lilies, *Cant.* 7. 2. (2) And upon the tops of the Pillars was Lily-work, ſo was the Work of the Pillars finiſhed. 1 *Kings* 7. 22. (3) *Exod.* 25. 31.

plea

ples (4), as our Bridgroom by Lilies, Eloquence (5). In effect, what is Polite Learning, but a kind of Crown of the Sciences? *Caſſiodorus* calls it the Diadem of Princes (6); and the *Hebrews* uſed to crown ſome parts of it with Garlands: And this I take to be ſignified by the Poets Lawrels. The Hoods, and Girdles, and coloured Silken Tufts, by which the *Hebrew* Doctors were diſtinguiſhed. The Sciences ſhould poſſeſs the Center of the Soul; gentile Learning be inſtead of a circumference; the knowledge of one, without the Ornaments of the other, is a kind of ignorance; for 'tis with the ſeveral parts of Learning, as with the Nine Muſes, who joyning hands, make a Circle in their Dances. How tireſome a thing is Philoſophy if too ſevere, and not qualified, and made agreeable by Polite Literature and Humanity? Theſe are therefore neceſſary for a Prince to temper the harſhneſs of Government with their pleaſantneſs; for 'tis from that they have the name of Humane. A Prince ſhould not be altogether ſingular, but have ſomething common to the reſt of Mankind; he ſhould diſcourſe with them of different ſorts of Studies, and that with a courteous and obliging Carriage; 'tis not Royal Grandeur which confounds us, but extravagant indiſcreet Gravity; as 'tis not the Light, but the extream Drineſs of the Sun that dazles our Eyes; 'tis therefore very proper that Political Science be deckt and embelliſhed with the Liberal Arts, which caſt as great a Luſtre as Rubies in a Crown, or Diamonds in a Ring. Nor do ſuch Arts ſit amiſs upon Majeſty, as require the aſſiſtance of the Hand as well as Mind; nor will it in the leaſt derogate from a Prince's Authority, or obſtruct his Management of Publick Affairs, to allow him ſome intervals of leiſure for his Diverſion (7): Thus *Mark Anthony* took a delight in Painting; *Maxi-*

(4) *Spica nomine, at ego quidem ſentio, diſcipulorum cœtum intellexit.* Procop. in c. 17. Iſa. (5) His Lips like Lilies dropping ſweet ſmelling Myrrh. *Cant.* 5. 13. (6) *Diadema eximium impetiabilis notitia literarum, per quam dum veterum providentia diſcitur, regalis dignitas augetur.* Caſſi. 12. Var. 1. (7) *Nec cuiquam judici grave, aures ſtudiis honeſtis & voluptatibus conceſſis impartire.* Tac. 14. Ann.

milion the Second, in Sculpture; *Theobald*, King of *Navarre*, in Poetry and Muſick; with which laſt *Philip* the Fourth, the preſent King of *Spain*, your Royal Highneſs's Father, diverts himſelf as oft as diſingaged from the Cares and Concern the Government of two Worlds oblige him to. In this Exerciſe the *Spartans* too inſtructed their Youth; and in general all of this Nature are recommended by *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, as very beneficial to a Commonwealth. And though 'tis true, the Mind ſhould not repoſe its whole ſatisfaction in them, Policy however requires a Prince ſometimes to uſe them, the People being ſtrangely pleaſed to ſee their Prince's thoughts thus diverted, and not always intent on the contriving their Slavery; 'twas on this account *Druſus*'s Debaucheries were acceptable to the *Romans* (8). There are only two things to be obſerved in the Uſe and Exerciſe of theſe Arts; one is, that they are to be practiſed not in publick but privately, as the Emperor *Alexander Severus* uſed to do, though excelled by none in Muſick, whether Vocal or Inſtrumental. The reaſon of this is, we are apt to think it a contemptible ſight to ſee the Hand which bears a Scepter, and Rules a Kingdom, filled with a Fiddle-ſtick or a Pencil; which we ſtill look upon to be a greater fault, if the Prince be of an Age, wherein one would think the care of the Publick ought to take him off theſe private Paſtimes: It being our Nature not to accuſe a Prince of loſs of time, if he's idle or does nothing, but rather blame him for ſpending it at theſe Diverſions. The other Caution is, that he lay not out too much time upon them, or be deſirous to excel others (9), leaſt he take more pride in this vain excellency than in well-governing the Commonwealth; a thing *Nero* was guilty of, who aban-

(8) *Nec luxus in juvene adeo diſplicebat: hoc potius intenderet, diem edifcationibus, noctem conviviis traheret; quam ſolus & nullis voluptatibus avocatus, præſtas violentias & malas curas exercerit* Tac. 3. Ann.

(9) *Hæc tria ad diſciplinam ſpectari oportet, ut medium teneatur, ut fieri poſſit, ut deceat.*

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doned the Reins of his Empire for thoſe of a Chariot, and valued himſelf more upon acting the part of a Comedian in the Theatre than of an Emperor of the World.

This Abuſe which Princes ſometimes fall into by having a greater Eſteem for theſe Arts, than the Science of good Government. *Virgil* elegantly Cenſures in theſe Verſes:

Let others better Mold the running Maſs
Of Metals, and inform the breathing Braſs,
And ſoften into Fleſh a marble Face.
Plead better at the Bar, deſcribe the Skies,
And when the Stars deſcend, and when they riſe.
But Rome, *'tis thine alone, with awful ſway,*
To rule Mankind, and make the World obey;
Diſpoſing Peace and War thine own Majeſtick way.
To tame the Proud, the fetter'd Slave to free,
Theſe are Imperial Arts, and worthy thee.

Dryden's *Virg.*

As for Poetry, though it be a part of Muſick, Accents and Rhimes having the ſame effect in that, as Notes in in this; though that be the far nobler Exerciſe of the two; for this is of the Hands, that of the Brain. The one deſigned meerly to divert, the other to inſtruct with Diverſion; notwithſtanding it ſeems by no means proper for a Prince; it's ſtrange Sweetneſs being a great obſtacle to Maſculine and Noble Actions; for when the Mind is once captivated with the Charms of its Thoughts and Conceptions, as the Nightingal with the Melody of her Voice, it never leaves of, and grows ſo keen with Poetical Niceties, that its Edge is ſoon turned and blunted againſt the hard and rugged Troubles it muſt neceſſarily meet with in Government (10). Hence it alſo follows, That if a Prince takes not the

(10) *Vile autem exercitium putandum eſt, & Artes, & Diſciplinæ, quæcunque corpus, aut animam, aut mentem liberi hominis ad uſum, & opem virtutis inutilem reddant.* Ariſt. Pol. 8. cap. 2.

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ſame delight in Ruling as Compoſing, he will in all probability leaſt regard this greateſt concern, wholly neglect or abandon it to the care of others; as did *John* II. King of *Arragon*, who ſquandered away his time in the Study of Poetry, and ſent for Perſons eminent for it from the remoteſt Countries, till his Subjects tired with his Negligence, put a ſtop to this uſeleſs Diverſion of his by an open Rebellion. Nevertheleſs, ſince Poetry is ſo much in Vogue at Courts, and does much refine and poliſh the Mind, a Prince will hardly eſcape the Charge of Ignorance, if he have not ſome ſmattering in't. He may therefore be allow'd ſome time for that Study, I mean as much as ſhall be thought fit to quicken his Parts, and improve his Judgment; for how many excellent Poems have by this means come from the Pens of ſuch as have govern'd in Church and State, with general Applauſe and Approbation? There are abundance of Princes given to the practice of Chymiſtry, which is indeed a very noble Diverſion, and diſcovers many wonderful Effects and Secrets of Nature; but for all this, I would adviſe a Prince not to meddle with it (11), for Curioſity will eaſily lead him from thence to Alchymy; or at leaſt, under the pretext of Simple Diſtillation, he will have a fancy to fix Mercury, and make Gold and Silver; things which the moſt precious of our time is thrown away upon to no purpoſe, and certain, waſted for uncertain Treaſures. 'Tis a Phrenzy, that nought but Death can cure, to make one Experiment after another, and not conſider that 'tis impoſſible to find a better Philoſopher's Stone, than a good and prudent Oeconomy. 'Tis of this, and of Commerce, not of Chymiſtry, this Sentence of *Solomon* is to be underſtood, [*That nothing is richer than Wiſdom*] (12). 'Twas by this kind of Traf-

(11) Be not curious in unneceſſary matters; for more things are ſhewed unto thee, than men underſtand. *Eccl* 3. 24. (12) What is richer than wiſdom that worketh all things? And if prudence work; who of all that are is a more cunning workman than ſhee? *Wiſd.* 8. 5.

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ſick with the Inhabitants of *Tarſis* and *Ophir*, the ſame *Solomon* got his vaſt Riches; for which he had never prepared ſo many and great Fleets, expoſed to ſo many and great Hazards at Sea, if he could have ſaved the labour with a Crucible. It is likely, that he who could ſpeak well of all things (13), who was endued by God with a Supernatural Knowledge, ſhould never find out this Secret alſo, or actually have uſed it, had it been feaſible? Beſides, 'tis not credible that God will ever permit it, for thereby in probability an end would be put to all Commerce, which is maintain'd by nothing ſo much, as by a Species of Money common to all the World, and that made of ſome ſcarce and precious Metal.

(13) And he ſpake of Trees, from the Cedar-tree that is in *Lebanon*, even unto the Hyſop, that ſpringeth out of the Wall. 1 *Kings* 4. 33.

EMBLEM VII.

THE Affections are born with us; Reaſon comes not till many Years after, when they are already poſſeſs'd of the Will, and this deluded with a falſe appearance of good ſubmits to them, and owns no other Empire but theirs, till Reaſon recovering ſtrength by Time and Experience, takes upon it the Right of Government it had by Nature, and begins to make Head againſt the Tyranny of our Appetites. This Light uſually riſes later in Princes, becauſe the Delicacies of the Court which they're uſed to, render their Affections more prevailing; beſides, that their Courtiers ſtrive generally to get their Favour, which they know, rather depends upon the Will than Reaſon; hence all uſe the art of Flattery, and make it their buſineſs to engage that, but caſt a Cloud on this. A Prince ought therefore to be well acquainted with theſe Artifices, and arm

arm himſelf not againſt his own Paſſions only, but all ſuch Perſons as would abuſe them to govern him. This is a great and general Negligence in thoſe who undertake to form Princes Minds. Uſeleſs and unfruitful Weeds which grow among Corn, we ſpend time in eradicating; yet ſuffer vicious Paſſions and Inclinations, that wage War with Reaſon, to grow. To cure a Prince's Body, many *Galens* are always ready, the Mind often has ſcarce one *Epictetus*; though this is ſubject to no leſs Infirmities than the Body, and thoſe ſo much worſe, as that is more excellent than this. If its countenance were viſible, and we could diſcover in it its ill and diſtempered Affections, we ſhould pity the Condition of many, we at preſent take for happy Men, whom that feveriſh Heat of depraved Appetites ſo miſerably preys upon. If the Hearts of Tyrants could be opened, one might ſee Bruiſes and Wounds (1). Alas! What Tempeſts of Confuſion and Diſtraction is a Mind in that Condition rack'd with? Its Light is all obſcured, his Reaſon ſo diſturbed, that all things appear to him far different from what they really in themſelves are. Hence proceeds that variety of Judgments and Opinions in the World; hence few weigh things aright, but paſs a different eſtimate according to the light by which they ſee them. For 'tis with the Affections, as with Telleſcopes, which at one end magnify, at the other diminiſh Objects. The Cryſtals are the ſame, the Objects nothing alter'd; this only is the difference, that the viſual Rays falling in at one end, are dilated from the Center to the Circumference, and conſequently diffuſe themſelves and multiply more; whereas at the other end they are contracted from the Circumference to the Center, and ſo repreſent Objects conſiderably leſs: Such is the difference between theſe two ways of looking upon things. At the ſame time (tho'

(1) *Si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, poſſe aſpici laniatus, & ictus, quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita ſævitia, libidine, malis conſultis animus dilaceretur.* Tac. 6. Ann.

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in different Kingdoms) the two Infants, *James*, the Son of *James* the Second, King of *Arragon*; and *Alphonso*, Son of *Dionyſio*, King of *Portugal*, had in view the Succeſſion of their Fathers Crown. But ſee in how different a manner, the firſt againſt his Father's Will refuſed to accept; the other contrary to the Laws of Piety, by force of Arms attempted to ſnatch it from the Head of his. One conſidering the vaſt Cares and Dangers of Government, bid adieu to the World, and preferr'd a Monaſtick Life as the more quiet and happy; the other look'd upon Life without Sovereignty to be burthenſome and unprofitable, and had more reſpect to his Ambition than the Law of Nature. This look'd upon the Circumference of the Crown which border'd with Flowers, was an agreeable ſight; that conſider'd rather the Point and Center of it, whence the Lines of Labour and Care are drawn. All Men propoſe ſomething that has the appearance of good, as the end of their Actions (2); but becauſe we are deceived in the knowledge of this Good, hence proceeds our Error. The greateſt thing imaginable when in our own Power appears little and inconſiderable, in others great and magnificent. Our own Faults we are not ſenſible of, thoſe of others we eaſily diſcover. Other Mens defects ſeem like Giants, ours ſcarce ſo big as Dwarfs. Nay, further, we know how to new-name Vices, and give them the Colour of Virtue: Ambition we call greatneſs of Mind; Cruelty, Juſtice; Prodigality, Liberality; Raſhneſs, Valour. In ſhort, few can with Prudence diſtinguiſh Honeſty from its contrary, what's profitable from the prejudicial (3). 'Tis thus, we are deceived when we look on things by that end of the Proſpective, which Paſſions and Inclinations ſtop. I know nothing but Benefits that are to be looked upon through both ends; thoſe we receive, ought to appear great to us; thoſe

(2) *Omnia namque ejus, quod ſpeciem boni præfert, gratiâ omnes agunt.* Ariſt. Pol. 1. Cap. 8. (3) *Pauci prudentia, honeſta à deterioribus, ut hæc ab noxiis diſcernunt.* Tac. Lib. 4. Ann.

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we confer, little. This was King *Henry* the Fourth's Custom; nay, he seldom so much as remembred Kindnesses he had done others; on the contrary, those he had received, he never let slip out of his Memory, being always careful the first opportunity to repay them as a Debt. A Prince ought not to imagine that a Courtesy is, as it were, a Mark of Slavery on the Person gratified: I should not call that Generosity but Tyranny rather, and a kind of Traffick for Mens Affections, which the Prince buys at the price of Favours, as they do Slaves for Money on the Coasts of *Guinee*. He who does a good Office should not think he lays an Obligation; he who receives it ought to think himself obliged. In a word, A Prince should imitate God Almighty, *who giveth to all Men liberally, and upbraideth not* (4). In undertaking and carrying on Wars; in procuring and establishing Peace; in Injuries as well offered as received, let him always use the same Crystal of right Reason, through which he may see every thing equally without disguise or fallacy. That Indifference and Justice in giving a due Estimate of things, becomes none more than a Prince, who ought to perform the same Office in his Kingdom, as the Tongue of a Balance in a pair of Scales, and agreeable thereto pass a true and sincere Judgment of all things, that his Government may be just, whose Balance will never hang even, if the Passions have place, or all things be not weighed in the Scale of right Reason. Upon this account Masters ought to come with singular Care and Industry to instruct the Prince's Mind, discovering those Errors of the Will, and the Vanity of its Perswasions, that free and disengaged from Passion, he may pass an unprejudiced Judgment on every thing. For, really if we throughly examine the fall of so many Empires, so many Revolutions in States, such a multitude of Kings and Princes deposed and murthered, we shall find the first Origin of these misfortunes to have

(4) James 1. 5.

been

been, the Paſſions having ſhaken off their Obedience, and their refuſal to ſubmit to Reaſon, whoſe Subjects they are by the Law of Nature. Nor is any thing more peſtilent to a Commonwealth than thoſe irregular Appetites, or the particular Ends which every one, as he pleaſes, purpoſes to himſelf. I don't hereby contend to have theſe Paſſions wholly razed or extinguiſhed in a Prince, for without them he would be abſolutely incapable of any generous Action; Nature having not furniſhed us with Love, Anger, Hope, Fear, and other the like Affections to no purpoſe; for though theſe are not Virtues, they are however their attendants and means, without which they are neither attainable nor practicable. 'Tis the abuſe only, and inordinacy of them, I diſapprove of; thoſe are to be corrected, that a Prince's Actions be not guided by Paſſion, but his whole Government by Prudence and Policy. Thoſe things which are common to other Men, are not allowable in a Prince (5). *Charles* the Fifth, if at any time he would indulge Anger or Indignation, did it in private and remote from Company, not publickly when he repreſented the Perſon and Majeſty of an Emperor; for in this Capacity, a Prince is rather the Idea of a Governor than a Man, and rather his Peoples than his own Man. Nothing is then to be determined out of Affection, but all things examined by the Rule and Standard of Reaſon; not by his Inclination, but Art. A Prince's Behaviour ſhould be rather Political than Natural; his deſigns proceed rather from the Heart of the Commonwealth than his own. Private Perſons uſually make their own Intereſt and Advantage the Meaſure of their Actions: Princes are to have the Publick Good in view. In a private Man to conceal his Paſſions, is look'd upon to be a ſign of too cloſe and reſerv'd a Temper; in Princes even Policy ſometimes require it. There appeared not the leaſt

(5) *Regum eſt ita vivere, ut non modo homini ſed ne cupiditati quidem ſerviant.* M. Tull. in Orat. Syll.

Symptom

Symptom of Paſſion in *Tiberius*, when *Piſo* preſented himſelf to him, after having, according to his order, diſpatched *Germanicus*, which occaſioned no ſmall Jealouſy in *Piſo* (6). He who Commands many, ſhould with many vary his Affections, or if poſſible appear free from them (7); endeavour in the ſame Hour as occaſions differ, to ſeem Severe and Courteous, Juſt and Merciful, Liberal and Frugal (8). *Tiberius* was a great Maſter (9) of this Art, whoſe Mind it was not eaſy to diſcover; he knew ſo well how to mingle the Symptoms of his Anger and Satisfaction. A good Prince commands himſelf, and ſerves his People; but if he neglect to break, or conceal the natural Tendency of his Mind, his Actions will be always uniform, whence every one will preſently ſee the Scope of his Deſigns, contrary to one of the principal Maxims of Policy; which for this very reaſon recommends variety of Methods in Acting, that the Prince's Deſigns may not be known. Nor is it by any means ſafe for him to let others diſcover his Nature and Inclinations. For there's no eaſier acceſs to his Mind than that, which 'tis neceſſary he keep free and reſerved, if he deſire to have his Kingdom well-governed. For as ſoon as his Miniſters have once diſcovered his Inclination, immediately they flatter him, and encourage the ſame in themſelves. If in any thing the Prince be obſtinate and opinionative, they are ſo too, and now nothing but perverſneſs governs. But if it ſhall be at any time the Prince's Intereſt to court the Peoples Favour and Applauſe, let him rather ſo behave himſelf, that what the People like or diſlike, he may ſeem to have a natural Inclination or Averſion for. *Ariſtotle* puts Baſhfulneſs in the number of the Paſſions, denies it to be a Moral Virtue, becauſe a fear of Infamy, and

(6) *Nulli magis exterritus eſt, quam quod Tiberium ſine miſeratione, ſine ira obſtinatum, clauſumque vidit, ne quo affectu perrumperetur.* Tac. 3. Ann. (7) *Iſtud eſt ſapere, qui, ubicumque opus ſit, animum poſſis flectere.* Terent. (8) *Tempori aptari decet.* Sen. in Med. (9) *Haud facile quis deſpexerit illa, in cognitione mentem Principis; adverterit, ac miſcuerit ira & clementia ſigna.* Tac. 3 Ann.

therefore ſeems incompatible with a great Man, whoſe Actions being all ſquar'd by the Rule of right Reaſon, he has nothing to be aſhamed of. According to St. *Ambroſe*, however 'tis a Virtue which regulates our Actions (10); by which I conceive, he means that ingenuous and liberal Shame, or rather Modeſty, which like a Bridle reſtrains us from the Commiſſion of any ignominious or unſeemly Action, and is a token of a good Genius, and no ſmall argument that there remain in that mind ſome Seeds of Virtue, though not yet deeply rooted. I am apt to believe *Ariſtotle* ſpeaks of another vitious and irregular Baſhfulneſs, which is an obſtacle to Virtue; we may ſay of both, as of Dew, which falling moderately nouriſhes and refreſhes Corn; but when thick like ſmall Snow, burns up and kills it. No Virtue can be freely exerciſed, when this Paſſion has once prevailed, nor is any thing more pernicious to Princes, for this reaſon above all, that it has the appearance of Virtue, as if it were in a Prince a ſign of Candor, (and not rather of a mean and abject Spirit) not to be able to deny, contradict, reprehend, or correct without a Bluſh. Such as theſe ſtraiten themſelves too much in their Grandeur, are in a manner afraid of Shadows; and what is worſe, make themſelves Slaves to thoſe they ought to govern. Beſides, how unbecoming is it to ſee in their Faces the colour of Shame, which none but Flatterers, Liars, and in general, all proſligate Perſons ought to be ſtained with, and for them ſo to forget themſelves as to be governed and cozen'd by others. Whatever is asked, they voluntarily offer, and give without any reſpect to Merit, vanquiſhed meerly by Petitions. They readily ſubſcribe to others Counſels and Opinions, though they don't approve them, and had rather ſeem Conquer'd

(10) *Pulchra virtus eſt verecundia, & ſuavis gratia, qua non ſolum in factis, ſed etiam in ipſis ſpectatur ſermonibus, ne modum prætergrediatis loquendi, ne quid indecorum ſermo reſonet tuus.* St. Ambroſ.

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than Victors; which is the foundation of the moſt conſiderable Miſcarriages in a Commonwealth; ſhamefacedneſs by no means becomes Princes, who ſhould always appear with a ſerene and ſteady Aſpect (11). Princes therefore ſhould make it their whole buſineſs to correct this Paſſion, and moderate their natural Baſhfulneſs with Valour and Conſtancy, with a Reſolution not only of Mind, but outward Demeanour to reſiſt Flatteries, Lyes, Frauds, and Malice, that they may correct and amend them, and preſerve a Royal Integrity in their Words as well as Actions. Which the Two Kings, *John* the Second, and *Henry* the Fourth, having neglected to do; what wonder if their Authority and Crowns were brought into ſuch dangers? Farther, in curing this Paſſion, no ſmall Diſcretion is neceſſary; for whereas other Vices, like Thorns, are to be utterly extirpated, this is rather to be pruned, and the ſuperfluity cut off; that part of Shame left which guards Virtues, and regulates Mens Manners and Actions; for without this reſtraint, the Prince's Mind will be quite unruly; and except he now and then reflects upon Infamy and Indecency, he will follow the force of his Paſſions, and precipitate himſelf; eſpecially when there's Power to countenance them. If by good Arts modeſty is ſcarce to be preſerved, what will be the conſequence if we wholly abandon that (12)? 'Twas then *Tiberius* gave himſelf to all manner of Vice and Tyranny, when he had caſt off Shame and Fear, and followed only his own Humour (13). Hence *Plato* ſaid, *That* Jupiter, *if at any time apprehenſive of the Ruin of Mankind, diſpatch'd* Mercury *for the Earth, to diſtribute Juſtice and Modeſty among Men, by which they might prevent their Deſtruction.* Commiſeration and Pity is a Paſſion not leſs dangerous in Princes, than the other;

(11) *Quorundam parum idonea eſt verecundia rebus civilibus, qua firmam frontem deſiderant.* Seneca. (12) *Vix artibus honeſtis retinetur pudor.* Tac. 14. Ann. (13) *Poſtremo in ſcelera ſimul ac dedecora prorupit, poſtquam remoto pudore & metu, ſuo tantum ingenio utebatur.* Tac. 6. Ann.

for when it has once prevailed in the Mind, neither Reason nor Justice perform their Offices. For out of an extravagant fear of disobliging any by Reprehension or Correction, they neglect to apply Remedies to their Subjects Crimes, and suffer many to go unpunished. They are deaf to the Peoples Clamours, nor do Publick Calamities affect them, while at the same time they are sensibly touch'd with pity for three or four Men who were the Promoters of them. They feel themselves disordered at other Mens Crimes; and accordingly for fear of any trouble upon their account, chuse to connive at, or pardon, rather than punish them. This is a weakness of Judgment, and defect of Prudence, to be remedied with time; but that with the same Moderation as we mentioned of Bashfulness, that part only of Commiseration is to be retrenched which so enfeebles the Mind, that it can't act with Vigour and Constancy. Reserving that compassionate Affection peculiar to Princes (14) where right Reason, without hazarding the publick Security, perswades. Both these Passions, as well that of Bashfulness, as Commiseration, are corrigible, and to be subdued by some contrary Actions, which may remove that too great tenderness and imbecillity of Mind, and delivering it from those servile Fears, render it capable of more masculine Actions. If a Prince now and then endeavours (though in matters of the least consequence) to keep his Mind firm and resolute, and considers his Power and Quality, he will easily afterwards be able to do the same in Affairs of greater moment. All's done, if he can but once acquit himself generously in it, and make himself fear'd and respected. There remain two other Passions considerably prejudicial to Youth; Fear and Obstinacy. Fear, when a Prince is so timorous, and in all things diffident of himself, that he dares neither act nor speak. Never approves any Action of his own, Fears to appear in publick, and Love's rather solitude

(14) *Principatus enim proprium est misereri.* St. Chrys.

and

and retirement. This proceeds generally from an effeminate and retired Education; as also for want of Experience, the only Remedy for this Distemper; that is, the Prince should use himself to give Audience to his Subjects as well as Foreigners; often appear in Publick that he may learn to know Men, and in general all other things as in themselves they are, not as his Imagination, or Master has painted them. Let there be always free access to his Apartments for those worthy Persons, that are his Father's Chamberlains, and all other Courtiers that are eminent for Valour, Ingenuity, and Experience. Which Custom was observed in *Spain* till the time of *Philip* the Second, who cautious of his Son *Charles*'s underhand-dealings, abolished that Custom of free Access and Communication, and so declining one Inconvenience, fell into another equally dangerous to Princes, for so is it to be too much abstracted from Conversation; for this usually prompts them to rely too much upon some particular Favourite.

Lastly, Obstinacy arises partly from Fear, partly from natural Slothfulness; when a Prince won't Act at all, but resolutely rejects all Instructions that are given him. That Coldness of Mind is to be cured by the Fire of Glory and Incentives to it, as faults in Horses are usually corrected by the Spur. The Prince therefore is to be led gradually into the way, and the Progress he makes to be commended; though at first those Commendations be above his merit, and only for forms sake.

EMBLEM VIII.

IN the Unicorn Nature hath ſhewn a piece of admirable Skill and Providence, in placing Anger's Weapon exactly between the Eyes. 'Tis abſolutely neceſſary to have both Eyes intent upon that Paſſion, which ſo imperiouſly tyrannizes over our Actions, and the Motions of the Mind. The ſame Flame that lights it, blinds it, and 'tis differenced only by its ſhort continuance from Fury and Madneſs. A Man in a Paſſion is not the ſame as before, for he is thereby as it were put beſide himſelf (1). Valour has no need of it; for what were more ſilly, than for this to require Aid from Anger, a thing ſtable from one inconſtant, faithful from one falſe, ſound from one diſeaſed (2)?

(1) *Non deſiderat fortitudo advocatam iram*, Cicero. (2) *Quid enim ſalubrius eſt, quam hanc ab iracundia petere præſidium, rem ſtabilem ab inconſtanti, fidelem ab infidâ, ſanam ab ægrâ?* Senec.

'Tis

'Tis not this fickle pettish Passion obtains Victories, triumphs over Enemies, nor is that really Courage that is without Reason provoked. In a word, no Vice is more unbecoming a Prince, than that; for to be angry, supposes contempt, or an injury received; nor is any thing so disagreable to his Place and Office, in as much as nothing so obscures the Judgment which should in a Governor be serene and clear. A Prince that is exasperated, and passionate upon any slight occasion, gives his Heart into the Hands of the Person who provokes him, and is subject to his pleasure. If not a wrinkle in a King's Coat can be disordered without offence, what will it be if he suffer any one to disturb his Mind? Anger is a kind of Moth which Purple breeds and nourishes. Pomp engenders Pride; Pride, Passion; and Impatience is as it were a Propriety of Power. The Sense of Princes is something too delicate a Looking Glass which the least breath sullies, a Heaven that with the least Vapour is clouded and breaks out into Thunder. A Vice that generally seizes great and generous Spirits; as the Sea, however vast and powerful, is with the least blast of Wind raised into horrid Disorders and Tempests, with this only difference, that they are of much longer continuance in Princes Minds than in the Sea; especially if their Honour be concerned, which they imagine 'tis impossible to retrieve without Revenge. What a trifling piece of incivility was that, *Sancho*, King of *Navarre*, put upon *Alphonsus* the Third, after the Battel of *Arcos*, in returning without taking leave of him? Which however this so highly resented, that he could never forget it, or rest till he had got him out of his Kingdom. The Anger of Princes is like Gun-powder, which no sooner takes Fire, but has its effect; the Holy Spirit calls it the Messenger of Death (3); and barely on this account 'twere sufficiently reasonable to curb and restrain it. 'Tis very indecent for one in Authority to submit to this Passion. Let Princes re-

(3) The Wrath of Kings is as Messengers of Death, *Prov.* 16. 14.

member that nothing is put in their Hands for a Scepter, with which they can hurt. And if sometimes a naked Sword is carried before Kings, 'tis in token of Justice not Revenge; and then 'tis carried in another's hand to intimate that between Anger and Execution there ought to intercede a Command. The publick Safety depends on Princes, which will easily be in danger, if they hearken to so rash a Counsellor, as Anger. Who can escape its hands? For 'tis like a Thunder-bolt when it comes from Supreme Power. *And because*, says King *Alphonso*, *Anger is stronger in a King, and more dangerous than in others; in that he can more readily satisfy it, he ought to be more prepar'd to curb and correct it* †. If Princes in a Passion could look upon themselves, they would find a Countenance unbecoming such Majesty, whose Tranquility and agreeable Harmony, both of Words and Actions, ought to please rather than terrify, to acquire Love rather than Fear. A Prince therefore should quench the Heat and Violence of Anger; if he can't do so, at least to defer the Fury and Execution of it for some time: For as the same King *Alphonso* has said, *A King ought to keep in his Anger till it is over, this will be of great advantage to him, for so he will be able to judge truly, and act justly in all things* *. The Emperor *Theodosius* experienced this in himself; and for this reason enacted a Law, That Capital Punishments should not be executed till thirty Days after Sentence passed. Which *Tiberius* had before him decreed, though for only ten Days, and without giving the Senate power to revoke the Sentence once pronounced (4). Which indeed had been commendable, if his design had been to make room for Pardon, or give time for a second hearing of the Cause. But *Tiberius* was a Man of too much Cruelty and Rigor to give that Indulgence (5.) It was the

† L. 10. tit. p 2. * L. tit. 5 p. 2. (4) *Idque vitæ spatium damnatis protogaretur, sed non senatui libertas ad pœnitendum erat.* Tac. 3. Ann. (5) *Neque Tiberius interjecta temporis mitigabatur.* Tac. 3. Ann.

Counsel

Counsel of *Athenodorus* to *Augustus Cæsar*, to determine nothing in a Passion till he had repeated the Twenty four Letters of the *Greek* Alphabet.

Since then, Anger is a short Madness, directly opposite to mature Deliberation; there is no better Antidote against it than prudent Reflection; that the Prince be not too hasty in Execution, before he has had Council to examine a matter throughly. King *Abasuerus*, when his Queen *Vashti* refused to come at his Command, though he had reason to think himself contemned, and highly resented the Affront, yet would not be revenged till he had first called a Council, and taken the Advice of his Noblemen (6). To talk of an Injury received, inflames Anger more; hence that of *Pythagoras*, *Stir not Fire with a Sword*, for Motion increases the Flame; nor is there any more effectual Remedy for Anger than Silence and Solitude. By its self it insensibly consumes and wears off; whereas the most softning Discourse is often like the Water Smiths use to make their Fire burn fiercer. Farther, Anger has its seat in the Ears, or at least keeps watch there; these therefore a Prince is to secure, that they be not too ready to hear ill Reports, that may enrage him (7.) This I imagine was the reason the Statue of *Jupiter Cretensis* had no Ears, because they do more mischief to Governors than good. However, I think them necessary for Princes, provided they be cautious and ruled by Prudence, and let not themselves be moved at the first hearing of every trifling Story. Anger is to be commended when kindled by Reason, and moderated by Discretion; without such as that, there can be no Justice (8). Too much Indulgence gives license to offend, and makes Obedience bold. To endure all things with content, is ignorance, or shews a servile Temper of one who has a mean Opinion of himself. To continue in Anger when

(6) Esth. 1. 2. (7) Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath. *James* 1. 19. (8) *Nunc Iracundi convenit, justitiæ nihil.* Stob. Serm. 20.

'tis

'tis to punish Offences, or make Examples of such as affront Regal Authority is no Vice, but a Virtue, and by no means derogates from Mildness and Clemency. Was any one more meek than *David* (9), *a Man after God's own Heart* (10)? So mild in Vengeance, in Anger so moderate; that when he had *Saul*, his greatest Enemy, in his power, was satisfied with cutting off the Skirt of his Robe, and even that afterward repented of (11). Nevertheless with severity did he revenge the Injury King *Hanun* did to his Ambassadors. *David* had sent them to comfort the King for the Death of his Father, but he groundlesly suspecting they came rather to spy out the State of his Kingdom, sent them away with the one half of their Beards shaved off, and their Garments obscenely cut off in the middle. *David*, a Man otherwise very peaceable, could not brook this Affront, but made War against him, and all the Cities of his Kingdom which he took, he utterly demolished; and the People that were therein, (to use the Scripture words) he *brought forth and put them under Saws and under Harrows of Iron, and under Axes of Iron, and made them pass through the Brick-kiln* (12). This may seem to be Cruelty, and an Excess of Anger, to any one that knows not that the Wounds injuries make, are sometimes to be so cured, as not so much as Scar should be left. *Artaxerxes* threatned Fire and Sword to some Cities, if they obey'd not an Edict he had published, resolving, if they refused, to make so severe an Example of their Contempt and Disobedience, as should extend to Brutes as well as Men (13). The most Just God taught us this piece of Policy, when with the utmost Rigour, yet without prejudice to his Infinite Mercy, he punished the *Syrians* Army for blasphemous

(9) Lord remember *David* and all his Afflictions, *Lat. Vers. Memento David & omnis mansuetudinis ejus.* Psal. 131. 1. (10) I have found *David*, the Son of *Jesse*, a Man after mine own heart. *Acts* 13. 22. (11) And it came to pass afterwards that *David*'s heart smote him, because he had cut off *Saul*'s Skirt. 1 *Sam.* 24. 5. (12) 2 *Sam.* 12. 31. (13) *Esth.* 8. 24.

call

calling him the God of the Hills (14). The Supreme Authority and Power of Princes makes a part of a Commonwealth, so that they can't put up Affronts and Injuries at all times.

That Anger too is praise-worthy in Princes, and profitable to a State, which kindled by Incentives of Glory, elevates the Mind to difficult and noble Enterprizes, for without it nothing extraordinary, nothing great, can be undertaken, much less perfected and accomplished. That, that is it which nourishes the Heart of generous Spirits, and raises it above its self to despise Difficulties. The Academicks called it the Whetstone, *Plutarch* the Companion of Virtue. But particularly, in the beginning of his Reign, the Prince ought to lay aside Anger, and forget past Injuries; as *Sancho*, Sirnamed the Brave, did when the Succession of the Crown of *Castile* fell to him. With Government, a Prince changes as 'twere his Nature, why should he not also his Affections and Passions? 'Twere an Abuse of Government to take Revenge of one who already acknowledges himself your Subject. Let the Person offended think he has Satisfaction in having got Authority over him, who before injured him. Fortune could not give him a nobler kind of Revenge. So *Lewis* XII. King of *France*, thought, and therefore when some perswaded him to revenge the Injuries he had received, while Duke of *Orleans*, he made answer, *That it did not become the King of* France *to revenge the Quarrels of the Duke of* Orleans.

Particular Injuries done to his Person, not Dignity, a Prince ought not to vindicate with his utmost Power; for though they seem inseparable, yet 'tis convenient to make some Distinction between them, least Majesty become odious and too formidable. To this tended

(14) Because the *Syrians* have said, the Lord is the God of the Hills, but he is not God of the Vallies; therefore will I deliver this great multitude into thine hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord, 1 *Kings* 20. 28.

that

that of *Tiberius*, when he said, That if *Piso* had committed no other Crime, but the rejoycing at *Germanicus*'s Death, and his grief for it, he would revenge those Injuries done him as a private Person, not as a Prince, and in a publick Capacity (15). On the other side, those done to his Dignity or Publick Station, he ought not to vindicate as a private Person, so as in a transport of Passion to think his Honour and Reputation lost, except he have immediate Satisfaction, especially when it were fitter to be deferred; for Anger should not be a Motion of the Mind, but of the Publick Good and Advantage. King *Ferdinand*, the Catholick, undoubtedly had this before him, when the King of *Granada* refused to pay him Tribute, as his Ancestors had done; and withal, insolently sent him word, that they were long since dead; that in his Mints they laboured not to Coin Silver or Gold, but Forge Swords and Launces †. *Ferdinand* concealed his Resentment of this Liberty and Arrogance for a time, and made a Truce with him, deferring Revenge till his Affairs were more quiet and settled; in which he consulted more the Publick Good, than his own Particular Affections (16). Nor is it less prudent to dissemble Anger, when one has reason to presume, that a time will come when it will be for our disadvantage to have shown it. For that reason, King *Ferdinand*, the Catholick, though highly affronted by the Grandees of his Kingdom; yet, when he abdicated that of *Castile*, and retreated into *Arragon*, very discreetly concealed that Indignation of Mind, took no notice of the Injuries he had received, but shewed himself friendly and affectionate to all, as if he then foresaw he should be

(15) *Nam si legatus officii terminos, obsequium erga Imperatorem exuit, ejusdemque morte, & luctu meo lætatus est, odero: seponamque à domo meâ & privatas inimicitias, non Principis, ulciscar.* Tac. 3. Ann. † Marian. Hist. Hisp. lib. 24. cap. 16. (16) A Fool's wrath is presently known; but a prudent Man covereth shame. *Lat. Vers. Injuriam dissimulat.* Prov. 12. 16.

sometime

ſometime reſtored to his Kingdom, as indeed it afterwards happened. A generous Mind hides its Reſentments of Injuries, and ſtrives not by the impetuouſneſs of Anger, but rather by noble Actions to ſmother them; the beſt certainly, and a truly heroical kind of Revenge. When King *Ferdinand*, the Holy, beſieged *Sevil*, a certain Nobleman reproached *Garcias Perez de Vargas* for wearing a waved Shield, which was not allowed his Family; he then pretended to take no notice of the Affront, till the Siege of *Triana*, where he fought with ſo much Valour, that he brought his Shield back ſtuck with Darts, then returning to his Rival, who was then in a ſecure Poſt, and ſhewing him the Shield, *You have reaſon*, ſays he, *to think much that I wear this Shield, that expoſe it to ſo many Dangers; without doubt no one deſerves it beyond your ſelf, who would take ſo much care to preſerve it.* Thoſe ordinarily bear Affronts moſt patiently, who are the leaſt ſubject to give them; nor is it a leſs Virtue to Conquer this Paſſion, than an Enemy. To kindle a Prince's Anger is no leſs dangerous than to ſet Fire to a Mine or Petard; and though it be done in our own behalf, 'tis prudence to moderate it, eſpecially if againſt Perſons in Power: for ſuch Angers generally fall on the Author's own Head. This was the reaſon the Moors of *Toledo* took ſo much pains to pacify King *Alphonſo* the Sixth's Wrath, againſt the Archbiſhop of that place, and the Queen, who had taken without his Order, their Moſque from them. From which I draw two Precepts: One is, that Miniſters ought, when the Duty of their place requires them, to tell the Prince of any thing that may create Diſtaſt or Anger, to repreſent them in the moſt ſoftening terms imaginable (17); for it often happens that an incenſed Mind vents its Fury upon the Perſon who gave the firſt Information of

(17) *Cuncta tamen ad Imperatorem in mollius relata.* Tac. 4. Ann.

the

the thing, however Innocent he may be, however good his Deſign was in doing it. The other is, That they endeavour not only to moderate Princes Anger, but cover and conceal it handſomely. Thoſe Seraphims (Miniſters of Love) which ſtood above God in *Iſaiah*'s Viſion, *with two Wings covered his Face, and with two covered his Feet* (18). Leaſt his angry Countenance ſhould ſtrike ſuch as were guilty of any fault with ſuch Terror and Deſpair, that they would wiſh the Mountains to fall on them, rather than ſee the Face of an avenging God (19). The heat of Anger is no ſooner cooled, but Princes are ſorry and vexed to have had any Witneſſes of it, or Spectators of its Effect, for both are equally diſagreeable to the Dignity of a King. And God himſelf for this reaſon turned *Lot*'s Wife into a Pillar of Salt (20).

(18) Iſaiah 6. 1. (19) Revel. 6. 16. (20) Gen. 19. 26.

EMBLEM IX.

'TIS to its own damage that Envy opposes the Trophies and Glory of *Hercules*. To what end does it attempt to bite his sharp pointed Club, but to make its Jaws bloody? In short, 'tis its own avenger. It seems to me like a Sword which from the same Blood it spills gathers Rust, and by that is afterwards eat up. All other Vices take their rise from some appearance of Good, or from Pleasure; on the contrary this proceeds from an inward Grief and Dissatisfaction at the good of another. Other Vices their Punishment follows, this it even preceeds. Envy sooner exerts its Fury upon its own Bowels (1), than on the Honour of its Neighbour. 'Tis the shadow of Virtue; he that would avoid that, must fly the light of this. The Owl's Sight being by

(1) Envy is the rottenness of the Bones, *Prov.* 14. 30.

Nature

Nature ſtrong enough to bear the Sun's Rays, is probably the reaſon other Birds hate and envy her: Whereas would ſhe be confined to her private Places, and conceal her ſelf in the darkneſs of Night, ſhe need not fear their Perſecutions. Between Equals there's ſeldom Emulation; when one's Fortune, the other's Envy encreaſes. Men are naturally apt to look with an ill Eye on upſtart Happineſs, and deſire to reduce the Fortunes of none more than thoſe whom they have once ſeen upon the Level with themſelves (2). Envy is like the Tare which never ſeizes Corn till it be conſiderably grown, and its Fruit begins to ripen (3). He muſt therefore fly Fame, Dignities, and honourable Employments, that would not be expoſed to Envy's Darts. A mean Fortune is leaſt dangerous (4). *Regulus* in the midſt of *Nero*'s Cruelty lived ſecure, becauſe, ſays *Tacitus*, his Gentility was of a ſmall ſtanding, and his Eſtate inconſiderable (5); but this fear would be unworthy a generous Beaſt. Others envying us, ſhews we excel them, but to be abſolutely free from Envy is a very ill ſign. 'Tis aſſuredly better to endure it, than be looked upon by all with indifferency. Envy is the Sting of Virtue; as the Thorn preſerves the Roſe, ſo does that Virtue. This would eaſily be neglected, were there none malicious and detracting. Many has Emulation advanced, many Envy made happy. That Emulation of *Carthage* raiſed the *Roman* Glory, as that of *Francis*, King of *France*, did the Fame of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth. 'Twas Envy gave the *Roman*, nay, the Univerſal Church to *Sixtus Quintus*, thence came all his fortune. There's nothing better in this Caſe than Scorn, and being always endeavouring to mount

(2) *Inſita mortalibus natura, recentem aliorum fœlicitatem aegris oculis intuſpicere, modumque fortunæ à nullis magis exigere, quam quos in æquo videre.* Tac. 2. Ann. (3) But when the Blade was ſprung up, and brought forth Fruit, then appeared the Tares alſo, *Matth.* 13. 26. (4) *Ex mediocritate fortunæ pauciora pericula ſunt.* Tac. 14. Ann. (5) *Quia nova generis claritudine, neque invidioſis opibus erat.* Tac. 14.

higher till the envious Man's Eyes fail him, and he loſe ſight of you. The Shadow of the Earth reaches the Moon, that loweſt of the Cœleſtial Orbs, ſo near the Elements, and overcaſts its Splendor; the higher Planets it does not in the leaſt injure: The force of the Sun, when at height, ſcatters and diſpels Clouds. Where's great Inequality, there's no room for Envy, and conſequently this is the only remedy againſt it. The more expeditiouſly a Man advances himſelf, the leſs will he be expoſed to Envy. No Smoak comes from a Fire ſoon lighted. Whereas, while Merits wreſtle, as it were, with one another, Envy grows and takes up Arms againſt the Perſon preferr'd. Pride and Supercilioufneſs are things which in good Succeſs provoke Envy, and ſtir up hatred. On the other ſide, Modeſty quells it; for no one envies him as happy, who looks not upon himſelf as ſuch. For this reaſon, *Saul* immediately after his being anointed King, betook himſelf to his Houſe; and to ſhew he was not exalted with Royal Dignity laid aſide the Scepter for a time, and ſet his Hand to the Plough (6). There's yet another Remedy, which is not to enlarge one's Fortune at Home, but in a Foreign Country; for 'tis very obvious for one, who before knew another to be of a mean Extraction, but now ſees him in a high degree of Dignity, to envy him this happineſs; this Evil inſinuates its ſelf more by the Eyes than Ears (7). Many eminent Men have declined Honours to avoid being envied. The Conſul *Tarquinius* voluntarily choſe Exile to eſcape the ſight of this Fury. *Valerius Publius* ſet his own Houſes on Fire, becauſe their Magnificence procured him Envy. *Fabius* abdicated the Conſulſhip, ſaying, *Now I hope Envy will ceaſe to trouble the* Fabii (8). They were however in my opinion in the wrong, for

(6) 1 Sam. 10. 11. (7) *Ut effugiamus nomen invidiæ, quod verbum ductum eſt, à nimis intuendo fortunam alterius.* Cic. in Tuſ. (8) *Non enim poterimus ullâ eſſe invidiâ ſpoliati egibus, & illa ſenatoria poteſtate.* Cic. ad Att.

this is rather to put the Sword in the Enemies hands, and give further occaſion to Envy; which when it has once undertaken to perſecute any one, never leaves him, till it has driven him to the extremity of Miſery. The Sun caſts no Shadows ſo long as 'tis in the Zenith; but as it declines and comes nearer us, they proportionably increaſe and grow longer. In the ſame manner Envy purſues him with the greater force, who is near ruin, or begins to fall; and as it generally lodges only in mean ſpirited Perſons, is always afraid he ſhould raiſe himſelf upon his Legs again. Even after *Daniel* was thrown among the Lions, *Darius* thought him not yet ſecure enough from thoſe who envied him the King's Favour; and ſo fearing more Mens Envy than the Wild Beaſts Cruelty, he ſealed the Stone which was laid upon the Lions Den with his own Signet, and with the Signet of his Lords, that no miſchief might be done him (9). Sometimes to avoid Envy, and its Inconveniences, 'twere adviſable to embark thoſe in the ſame Fortune, whoſe Emulation may be feared. Thus the *Remora*, which ſticking to the outſide of the Ship ſtops its Courſe, loſes its ſtrength when taken in (10).

Envy does not always gnaw lofty Cedars; ſometimes ſhe tires her Teeth, and bloodies her Lips with the loweſt Thorns, which Nature her ſelf ſeems to have in a manner hated. Inſomuch as not to look on even the Miſeries and Calamities of others without Spite and Indignation; whether it be, that her Malice is wholly mad and unreaſonable, or becauſe ſhe cannot endure the Sufferer's ſtrength of Mind and Conſtancy, or the Fame Fortune's Injuries uſually beget. There are to be found in the Perſon of the preſent Author, many things to make his Caſe deſervedly deplorable; none,

(9) That the purpoſe might not be chang'd concerning *Daniel*. *Lat. Verſ. Ne quid fieret contra Danielem*, Dan. 6. 17. (10) *Peculiariter miratum, quo modo adhærens remiſſet, nec idem pollens in navigium receptus.* Plin. lib. 32. c. 1.

or very few, to render him envied; nevertheleſs there are ſome who envy him theſe continual Cares and Fatigues, though little acknowledged or requited. There ſeems to be ſomething of fatality in this Emulation againſt him; it produc'd it ſelf without any reaſon, and often aſperſes him with things, he had by hear-ſay from others, before he could have ſo much as imagined. Notwithſtanding his mind ſo full of Candor, and mindful of his Duty, is ſo far from being diſturbed at theſe things, that he rather loves that Envy and Indignation, perceiving it to awaken his Courage, and daily excite it to make a further Progreſs.

Princes therefore, who are ſo far in Degree and Dignity ſuperior to others, ought chiefly to endeavour to deſpiſe Envy. He that has not Spirit enough for that, how will he have enough to be a Prince? To go to ſubdue it by kindneſs or rigour were plain Imprudence. All other Monſters *Hercules* tamed; againſt this neither Force nor Obligations were to any purpoſe. Nothing can ſilence the Peoples Clamours; for whatever Favours you confer, they take for Debts; nay, always promiſe themſelves greater than they receive. Obloquy and Detraction ought not to quench in a Prince the deſire of Glory, nor deter him from executing his Enterprizes: Dogs bark at the Moon, but ſhe eaſily deſpiſes them, and proceeds in her Courſe. The principal Art of Government is to be able to endure Envy. Envy is not very prejudicial to Monarchies, but rather generally enflames Virtue, and makes it more illuſtrious; eſpecially, if the Prince be Juſt and Conſtant, and don't too eaſily give credit to Calumnies. But in Republicks, where each Man goes for a part, and can execute the Deſires of his Paſſions with the help of Friends and Relations; 'tis very dangerous raiſing Diſcord and Clandeſtine Conſpiracies, whence afterwards ariſe Civil Wars, which are the Cauſes of all Revolutions in States. 'Twas that in former times ruined *Hannibal*, and many other great Men; and in this our Age has called in queſtion the unparallel'd Fi-

delity of *Angelo Baduero*, that famous *Venetian*, whom you may deservedly call the Glory and Ornament of that Commonwealth: A Man so desirous of, and passionate for the Publick Good, that even while under banishment, and unjustly oppressed, and persecuted by envious Men, he was in all things strangely sollicitous for the Preservation and Welfare of his Country.

The most Sovereign Remedy against Envy in Republicks, is an Equality of all the Members of them, so as that all Pomp and Ostentation be prohibited; for nothing so excites Emulation as the Splendor and Plenty of Riches. This made the *Romans* take so much care to regulate and reduce the superfluous Expences of Feasts, and to divide their Lands and Possessions, that their Citizens might be all equal in Strength and Estate.

Envy in Princes is very unbecoming their Eminency and Grandeur, as well for its being the Vice of an Inferior towards his Superiors, as because it must be but a very inconsiderable Glory which can't shine without obscuring others. The Pyramids of *Egypt* were reckoned among the Seven Wonders of the World for receiving Light on all sides of them, without casting the least Shade on any Bodies near (11). 'Tis a sign of weakness to want that which we envy in others. But nothing is more unworthy a Prince, than to envy the Excellence and Prudence of his Ministers, for they are in a manner Parts and Members of him; the Head envies not the Feet for being so strong as to support the Body, or the Arms, because they can labour; it glories rather in being furnished with such Instruments. However, self-love sometimes is the reason, that as Princes are Superior to others in Power, so also they are desirous to surpass them in the Gifts of Mind and Body. Even the fame of *Lucan*'s Verses was a disturbance to

(11) *Pyramides in Egypto, quarum in suo flatu se umbra consumat, ultra constructionis spatia nulla parte respicitur.* Cassiodor. l. 6. Var. Epist. 16.

Nero

Nero in the midſt of all his Grandeur (12): Wherefore thoſe who have to do with Princes, ought to be very cautious, not to ſeem to enter into a Diſpute with them for Knowledge or Ingenuity; or if at any time they are by ſome accident obliged to it, ſubmit rather, and voluntarily yield them the Victory; this being not only Prudence, but Reſpect due to Princes. The Cherubims (thoſe Spirits of Knowledge and Wiſdom) which ſtood before the Throne of God in *Ezekiel*'s Viſion, with ſingular Modeſty covered their Hands with their Wings (13). This I wiſh indeed, that the Prince would be jealous of that Veneration, which ſome to get the greater Intereſt in him too ambitiouſly demand, and accordingly moderate a little the exceſs of thoſe his Favours. Yet, by what Charm I know not, this love and kindneſs inchants a Prince's Mind, and blinds Envy. *Saul* could not but look upon *David* with an ill Eye, when he ſaw his great Exploits, though done for his Service, more applauded than his own (14). Whereas *Ahaſuerus* could eaſily ſuffer *Haman*, that great Favourite of his, to be worſhipped and honoured by all as a King (15). No Envy has more danger in it than that between Noblemen; care ſhould therefore be taken that Honours and Great Places ſeem not to be Hereditary to particular Families, but be transferr'd from one to another; yet, ſo as that the wealthieſt of the Nobility be employed in Places that require Pomp and Expence; the poorer ſort in thoſe by which they may raiſe their Fortune, and maintain the Splendor of their Birth. There is ſome Emulation that is glorious, I mean ſuch as envies the Virtue and Merit of another, but

(11) *Lucanum propria cauſa accendebant, quod famam carminum ejus premebat Nero.* Tac. lib. 15. Ann. (13) And there appear'd in the Cherubims, the form of a Man's hand under their Wings, *Ezek.* 10.8. (14) And *Saul* eyed *David* from that day, and forward. 1 *Sam.* 18.9. (15) And all the King's Servants that were in the Gate, bow'd and reverenced *Haman*, for the King had ſo commanded concerning him. *Eſth.* 3. 2.

grieves to want them it ſelf, and endeavours by all the Efforts both of Valour and Wit to acquire them; this, I ſay, is commendable; nor is it to be reputed a Vice, but a kind of ſpark of Virtue proceeding from a noble and generous Mind. The Honour *Miltiades* got by his Victory over the *Perſians*, kindled ſuch Flames in *Themiſtocles*'s Breaſt, as immediately conſumed all his Vices; he like another Man ran about *Athens*, crying, *The Trophies of* Miltiades *would not let him Sleep.* As long as *Vitellius* had Competitors, he abſtained from Vices; but as ſoon as he was without them, both he and his Army abandon'd themſelves to Cruelty, Luſt, Rapine, and Licentiouſneſs (16). This is the Emulation Commonwealths ſhould encourage, by propoſing Rewards, erecting Trophies or Statues; for that is the Soul and Spirit by which they are preſerved, and grow daily more flouriſhing. And this I take to be the Reaſon the Republick of *Switzerland* takes ſo little pains to extend its Limits, and why it produces ſo few famous Men; though otherwiſe Nature has been by no means niggardly of Valour, and Strength of Mind to its Inhabitants; for their principal Deſign is to eſtabliſh a general Equality, which puts a ſtop to all Emulation; and conſequently all noble and Military Virtues are buried like burning Coals in Aſhes. But though this Emulation among Miniſters may ſeem uſeful, yet 'tis not wholly without Danger, in that the People who ſuffer no Man to be without a Rival are variouſly affected (17); hence, while theſe favour one, thoſe applaud another, there ariſes a Contention between both Parties, and theſe Factions breed Tumults and Seditions. Beſides that, the heat of Ambition, and deſire of advancing themſelves above others, uſually puts them upon unlawful Tricks and Artifices; and that which at firſt was honourable

(16) *Tum ipſe, exercituſque, ſævitia, libidine, rapti in extremos mores prorupêrunt.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (17) *Scientia militiæ & rumore populi, qui neminem ſine æmuli ſinit.* Tac. 14. Ann.

Emulation

Emulation, degenerates at length into Hatred and Envy. *Metellus* offended that *Pompey* was nominated to be his Succeſſor in *Farther Spain*, and envying the Glory of this Great Commander, disbanded the Soldiers, weakned the Army, and careleſly neglected all Proviſions. *Pompey* did afterwards the ſame, when he underſtood *Marcus Pompilius* was to ſucceed him in the Conſulſhip, and for fear, poſſibly, the Honour of Conquering the *Numantines* might redound to him, made a Peace with them very diſhonourable to the *Roman* Name. In our own times, *Grol* was loſt upon no other account but a Diſpute that aroſe among the Officers, that were ſent to relieve it, about Preheminence. In ſhort, nothing is ſo pernicious to Princes, nothing more needs a Remedy. Nor is here connivance to be admitted, but both are to be puniſhed, as well he that ſeems to be Innocent, as the Perſon in Fault. This forgiving the occaſion; that becauſe he renounced not his Right, and let ſlip an opportunity of managing Affairs to advantage. Which Rigour, if it ſeems to any one exceſſive, will be excuſed, by conſidering the Emolument of the Publick Good, and of the Example it will leave to Poſterity. There's no great Reſolution without ſome mixture of Injury. A Subject ought to look upon the Duty he owes his Prince, before his own Honour; let him demand Satisfaction for the Injury received afterwards, and think he has acquitted himſelf of his Duty to his Prince, in having a little while put it up. Patience in ſuch a Caſe, ſhews extraordinary Courage; for a generous Mind ought to prefer the Service of the King before its own Paſſions; and lay aſide private Feuds when the Publick Intereſt is concerned (18). *Ariſtides* and *Themiſtocles* were bitter Enemies, yet being both ſent on an Embaſſy together, when they came to the City-gate, *Ariſtides* ſaid, *Let us here*, Themiſtocles, *leave for a little time our private Grudges, and at our return reſume them again.*

(18) *Privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere*, Tac. 1. Ann.

The ſame did *Henry Guzman*, Duke of *Medina*, who though otherwiſe an Enemy to *Rodrigo Pontre*, Marquiſs of *Cadiz*, yet out of Love of the Publick Good, went to his Aſſiſtance at the Siege of *Albama*. But becauſe 'tis much eaſier to prevent theſe Dangers than remedy them afterwards; the Prince muſt take care not to put two Miniſters of equal Authority in the ſame Office, for 'tis very difficult to make Power and Agreement ſubſiſt in the ſame place (19). *Tiberius* being to ſend another Miniſter into *Aſia* of equal Quality with the then Governor of that Province, thought that might be of dangerous conſequence; and therefore choſe *M. Aletus*, a Prætor, leaſt their equality might breed Emulation, and that occaſion ſome Impediment (20).

(19) *Arduum eodem loco potentiam, & concordiam eſſe.* Tac. 4. Ann.

(20) *Delectus eſt M. Aletus è prætoriis, ne Conſulari obtinente Aſiam, æmulatio inter pares, & ex eo impedimentum oriretur.* Tac. 2. Ann.

EMBLEM X.

THE Faulcon's no ſooner let fly, but he ſtrives with his Beak to get off the little Bells that are hung at his Feet, knowing them to prejudice his Liberty; for their tingling ſhrill ſound is like a Voice, which with the leaſt motion raiſed, preſently calls the Faulconer, and ſo is the occaſion that the poor Bird is brought again to Confinement, how far ſoever it hid it ſelf in the thickeſt Woods. Alas! how many Men has the noiſe of their Virtues, and brave Exploits, been miſchievous to? How many has Fame brought into Envy and inſupportable Slavery? Nor is great or good Fame leſs dangerous than bad (1). *Miltiades* had never ended

(1) *Nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.* Tac. in Vit. Agr.

his

his Days ſo unhappily in Priſon, had his Valour been conceal'd and unknown, or moderating his high Spirit, he had been content with a fortune equal to that of other *Athenian* Citizens. But the Reputation of his Victories increaſing, and the Eyes of Envy being not able to bear Fame's ſo bright Rays, this Republick began to miſtruſt what merited Eſteem and Recompence; they feared, forſooth, their own Necks might at length be obliged to bear the Yoke he had put on that of their Enemies; and dreaded more the future and uncertain Danger of *Miltiades*'s Infidelity, than that preſent, and far greater one which threatned them from thoſe, who openly deſigned the Ruin and Deſtruction of their City. Suſpicion never admits Reaſon into its Council, nor does ſuch fear ſtand to weigh the Importance of things, or ſuffer Gratitude to get the better of it. That Commonwealth choſe to let one, though the moſt deſerving, of its Citizens lie in Priſon and Infamy, rather than all the reſt ſhould live in continual Jealouſies. The *Carthaginians* took the Government of *Spain* from *Sappho*, under pretence, indeed, of adminiſtring the Commonwealth at home; but the true Reaſon was, that they could no longer ſuffer his Power and Authority. Thus they baniſhed his Succeſſor, *Hanno*, who was ſo eminent for his Navigations, only becauſe he had more Ingenuity and Induſtry than they thought ſafe for a free People. He was the firſt Man they ever ſaw ſtroke a Lion, and make it tame, and began to apprehend he would at laſt ſubdue them, who had vanquiſhed the Savage Beaſts. Thus Commonwealths are uſed to recompence Services and great Actions. No one of the Citizens takes himſelf in particular to be honoured, or obliged by any good Office is done to the Community; as to Offences and Suſpicion, every one thinks himſelf concerned. If any one's to be rewarded, very few give him their Votes; on the contrary, to find a Man guilty all are zealous. He that is more excellent than others, is thereby in danger; for his Zeal for the Publick Good accuſes their negligence; his

his Prudence their Ignorance. Hence 'tis so dangerous to be serviceable and obsequious to Princes; hence Virtue and Industry become like Vices, odious. *Sallust*, who had a Capacity fit for the most important business, to avoid Envy, feigned himself to be idle and drowsy (2). But the worst of all is, that sometimes a Prince is displeased at being awakened by a vigilant Minister, whom he would rather have as careless as himself. To remedy this, as there is an Hypocrisy which counterfeits Virtues, and dissembles Vices; there is need of another to conceal Valour and Excellency of Mind, and to stop the mouth of Fame. 'Twas undoubtedly nothing but the fear of Envy made *Agricola* so careful to hide his, that they who saw in him so much Humility and Modesty, unless they had otherwise heard of his Fame, could never guess at his Renown by his Person (3). Time made *Germanicus* sensible of this inconveniency, but he chose to bear rather than amend it, when after the Conquest of so many Nations, he erected indeed a Trophy, but for fear of Fame put not his Name to it (4). St. *John* concealed his, in the relation of the signal Favour our Saviour shew'd him at his last Supper (5), which if 'twas not humane Policy, was at least prudent Modesty. Even meer Dreams about ones own Promotion breeds Envy amongst Brothers. *Joseph* almost hazarded his Life, when with more Ingenuity than Discretion, he told his the Dream he had of the Sheafs of Corn that made obeisance to his that stood upright among the rest; for the very Shadow of Eminence, nay, the bare possibility of excelling makes Envy solicitous. Glory is dangerous, as

(2) *Cui vigor animi ingentibus negotiis par fuberat, eo magis, ut invidiam amoliretur, somnum & inertiam ostentabat.* Tac. 5. Ann. (3) *Visu aspectuque Agricola quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (4) *Debellatis inter Rhenum, Albimque nationibus exercitum Tiberii Cæsaris ea Monumenta Marti, & Jovi, & Augusto sacraviſſe, de se nihil addidit, metu invidiæ, an ratus conscientiam sallit esse satis.* Tac. 1. Ann. (5) Now there was leaning on Jesus's bosom, one of his Disciples whom Jesus loved. *John* 13. 23.

well

well becauſe of our own Virtues, as other Mens Vices (6). Vice is not ſo feared in Men becauſe it makes them Slaves, as Virtue that makes them Maſters; for Dominion is by nature her ſelf given to it, and this Republicks won't ſuffer to be lodged in the Perſon of one, but would have equally divided among all. Virtue is a kind of voluntary tyranny over Minds, has no leſs influence on them, than Violence it ſelf, or Compulſion; and indeed, to excite Republicks to Imitation, 'tis the ſame thing abſolutely whether the People be induced by Reaſon or by Force, conſtrained to obey one only; for the firſt Tyranny, the juſter 'tis, the more dangerous and irreſiſtible. This very thing gave riſe to the Oſtraciſm, or Ten Years Baniſhment, to which *Ariſtides*, among others, was condemned; whoſe only Crime, was his having the Reputation of a good and juſt Man. The Peoples Favour is a very dangerous Friend to Virtue; for their Applauſe and Approbation is puniſhed as a fault, as you may ſee in the Perſon of *Galerian* (7). So *Germanicus* learned by experience, that the *Roman* Peoples love was fickle and unfortunate (8). Neither Princes nor Commonwealths much deſire Miniſters of extraordinary Excellency, but ſuch as have a competent Skill to manage Affairs, and this reaſon *Tacitus* gives why *Poppæus Sabinus* was continued Four and twenty Years in the Government of the moſt conſiderable Provinces (9). 'Tis therefore a piece of great Prudence to know how to conceal ones Fame, and conſequently to beware of all Oſtentation of Wit, Valour, or Excellency, and cover all ſublime Thoughts, as they ſay, with Aſhes; though I confeſs, 'tis difficult for a noble Mind to confine to the narrow compaſs of its own Breaſt, a Flame that breaks out on

(6) *Agricola ſimul ſuis virtutibus, ſimul vitiis aliorum in ipſam gloriam præceps agebatur.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (7) *Nihil auſus, ſed nomen inſigne, & decora ipſi juventa, rumore vulgi celebrabantur.* Tac. 4. Hiſt. (8) *Breves & infauſtos populi Romani amores.* Tac. 2. Ann. (9) *Nullam ob eximiam artem, ſed quod par negotiis, neque ſupra erat.* Tac. 6. Ann.

all

all ſides, and daily requires new Fuel to increaſe it, and make it ſhine with the greater Luſtre. But this we may be perſwaded to by the Examples of theſe Illuſtrious Heroes, who heretofore from the Dictatorſhip returned to the Plough; and of thoſe that after a Triumphant Entry into the City of *Rome* by Breaches, becauſe the Gates were not large enough; that after the Conqueſt of whole Nations, have retreated to poor deſpicable Cottages, whither afterwards the Commonwealth has come to find them out. Nor had that ever brought them ſo ſoon into play again had it not ſeen they were not ambitious of Honour; for that like a Shadow flies him that purſues it, follows him that flies it. His Fame and Reputation is greateſt, who ſtrives to conceal it. *Rubellius Plautus* was thought to deſerve the Empire becauſe he lived retired (10); but 'tis not ſo in Monarchies, where one aſcends higher by having begun to aſcend. A Prince has Men of Courage and Bravery in great eſteem, Republicks fear them rather; that animates them by Rewards and Preſents, theſe diſcourage them by Ingratitude: Nor is fear of their Liberty always the reaſon of it, but 'tis alſo a pretence to Cloak their Envy and Emulation under. If any one be the Object of all Mens favour and applauſe, he is uſually ſuſpected and envied; which rarely happens in Princes, who don't eaſily envy their Subjects Glory; but if they do any thing commendable, they attribute it to themſelves, as being the Execution of their Orders. This has been obſervable in the Emperor *Otho* (11). Prudent Miniſters ought therefore to attribute to the Prince the happy Succeſs of things; taking warning by the Example of *Silius*, who incurred *Tiberius*'s Diſpleaſure by boaſting that he alone kept the Legions to their Duty; and uſing to ſay often, that *Tiberius* was

(10) *Omnium ore Rubellius Plautus celebratur, cui nobilitas per matrem ex Juliâ familiâ, ipſe placita majorum colebat, habitu ſevero, caſtâ & ſecretâ domo, quantoque metu occultior, tanto plus famæ adeptus.* Tac. 14. Ann. (11) *Gloriam in ſe trahente, tanquam, & ipſe fœlix bello, & ſuis ducibus, & ſuis exercitibus Remp. auxiſſet.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

indebted

indebted to him only for his Empire: For *Cæſar* thought at this rate his Fortune would be deſtroyed, and that he was unable to make return to ſo great Merit (12). Nor was *Veſpaſian* diſpleaſed with *Antonius Primus* for any thing, but too frequently mentioning his own Merits (13). *Agricola* was far more prudent, who never magnified his Exploits for his own Fame, but attributed all his Succeſs to his Superiors (14). *Joab* has left an Illuſtrious Example of this to all Generals; who, when he had forced any City to Surrender, ſent word before to King *David* to bring up new Forces, that the Surrender might be aſcribed to his Conduct (15). The Ancient *Germans* were above others commended for this, who lay under a ſtrict Obligation, not only to defend and preſerve their Prince, but alſo to attribute the Glory of their own brave Actions to him (16). For theſe reaſons a Perſon is much ſecurer of a Recompence for the Services he does a Prince, than thoſe done a Commonwealth; and will with more eaſe get the Favour of the one than the other (17). Beſides, that there's leſs danger in offending that than this; for the Multitude knows not what Connivance, Mercy, or Danger are; it is equally raſh in its Reſolutions, whether the thing to be attempted be dangerous or unjuſt; for either the Fear or Blame is divided among many, and each Man perſwades himſelf the danger is not like to fall on his Pate, that the Infamy belongs not

(12) *Deſtrui per hæc fortunam ſuam, Cæſar, imparemque tanto merito rebatur.* Tac. 4. Ann. (13) *Nimius commemorandis quæ meruiſſet.* Tac. 4. Hiſt. (14) *Nec Agricola unquam ſuam famam geſtis exultavit, ad auctorem & ducem, ut Miniſter, fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obſequendo, verecundia in prædicando extra invidiam, nec extra gloriam erat.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (15) Now therefore gather the People together, and encamp againſt the City, and take it, leaſt I take the City, and it be called after my name. *Lat. Verſ. Et nomini meo aſcribatur victoria.* 2 Sam. 12. 28. (16) *Principem ſuum defendere, tueri, ſua quoque fortia facta gloriæ ejus aſſignare, præcipuum Sacramentum erat.* Tac. in de Germ. (17) *Tarda ſunt quæ in commune expoſtulantur, privatam gratiam ſtatim mereare, ſtatim recipias.* Tac. 1. Ann.

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to him (18). A Community has no Forehead to blush, as a Prince has, who is with great reason solicitous for his own Person chiefly, as well as for his Reputation, and that of his Posterity. All Men flatter a Prince, setting before him the things that lead to Glory, in Republicks few are concerned for the Publick Honour, almost all for Security (19). A Prince has his Subjects to content, in a Community that care and trouble ceases; for what it undertakes or does, is by the Common Counsel of all, and so every one is thought to be concerned in it. And hence I imagine it comes to pass, that Commonwealths (I mean not such as are in a manner Kingly) are so unconstant and false in the Observation of Treaties; for that only is just with them, which seems to be for the Interest of their Preservation, Grandeur, and the Liberty they so much advance; in which they are extreamly Superstitious. They imagine they worship true Liberty, and with a servile Submission adore infinite tyrannical Idols. Every one thinks he Commands, and all Obey; they are all provided with an Antidote against the Poyson of Monarchy, and the Sovereignty of many they greedily and securely swallow; they fear nothing more than the Tyranny of Foreigners, take no notice of that at home. Liberty is talkt of every where, found no where. All are possessed of it in Imagination, none in Reality. Let the *United Provinces* now make a Comparison between the Liberty they formerly had, and that they enjoy at present, and diligently examine which of the two has the Advantage; whether they ever underwent the same Slavery then, suffered those Loses and Taxes they at this day sensibly experiment. Let the Subjects of some Commonwealths, nay the Magistrates themselves, in whose Hands the Government is, think whether it were possible for any Tyrant to enslave them more than those very Persons

(18) *Ita trepidi, & utrinque anxii cocunt; nemo privatim, expedita consilia, inter multos, societate culpæ tutior.* Tac. 2. Hist. (19) *Paucis decus publicum curæ, plures tuta differunt.* Tac. 12. Ann.

they

they have ſet up to Aſſert their Liberty, when there is not one that really enjoys it in his Actions. They are all miſerable Slaves to their own Jealouſies; the Magiſtracy is its own Tyrant; and it may be truly ſaid of both, that they live without a Maſter, but not with Liberty (20); for the more they ſtrive to diſengage themſelves from the Bonds of Slavery, the faſter they are bound with them (21).

(20) *Magis ſine Domino, quam in libertate.* Tac. 2. Ann. (21) *Sed dum veritati conſulitur, libertas corrumpebatur.* Tac. 1. Ann.

EMBLEM XI.

THE Tongue is an Inſtrument, by the help of which the Mind diſcovers its Sentiments, for it expreſſes it ſelf either by that, or by the Pen, which like

like a silent Tongue sometimes supplies its place, drawing on Paper the Words which should have been uttered by the Voice. From both the one, and the other, one may draw a probable conjecture of a Man's Parts and Capacity. *For by Speech, Wisdom shall be known, and Learning by the Word of the Tongue* (1). Hence King *Alphonso*, the Wise, speaking in his Laws how a Prince ought to carry himself in his Conversation, what Moderation he should use in speaking; among other things says, Multiloquy makes their Words unregarded, and if a King be not a Man of good Sense, his Tongue soon discovers the defect; for as an Earthen Pot is tried by the Sound, so is a Man's Sense by his Words †. A Comparison which he seems to have borrowed from this Passage of *Persius*:

——— *Sonat vitium percussa maligne,*
Respondet viridi non cocta fidelis limo.

Speech is the minds Countenance; by that is discovered whether it be sound or not (2). To represent this, I have made use of another nobler Emblem, and more accommodated to the Subject; 'tis a Bell, the true Emblem of a Prince; for as that is hung up in the most eminent place of the City, it times, and regulates all the Citizens Actions; and if the Metal be not good, or it has any other fault in't, 'tis by its Sound presently discerned (3). So a Prince is a kind of general Clock to all his Subjects, who in a great measure depend, as I may say, upon the Motion of his Words, and by them he either gets or loses a Reputation, every one giving himself to guess at his Genius, Wit, and Inclinations, by his Discourse. Not a Word escapes his Hearers, each one makes a deep Impression on their

(1) Eccles. cap 4. 29. † L. 5. tit. 4. p. 2. (2) *Oratio vultus animi est, si circumtonsa est & fucata, & manufacta, ostendit illum non esse sincerum, & habere aliquid fraudis.* Sen Epist. 115. (3) *Vas sonat ille & sons, homo sermone probatur.* Mcliff. Serm 48. Tom. 5. Bibl.

Memory, they are repeated to others, and exposed to the Censure of all, who usually put various Constructions upon them, as they think fit. Nay, even, what comes from him in private and unawares, passes for profound and mysterious, and not for casual and accidental. It were therefore very proper for them not to be extemporary but premeditated (4), not spoken without a previous Consideration of all the Circumstances of Time, Place, and Persons. For—— *Nescit vox missa reverti,* —— as *Horace* says, seconded by King *Alphonso*, *For this reason all Men, especially a King, ought to take great care of his Words before he utters them, for when they are once out of the Mouth, there is no Man can recal them* †. Whence may arise very great Inconveniences, for the Words of Kings are the principal Instruments of Government (5). Death and Life are in the Power of the Tongue (6); as also the Honour and Ignominy, the Prosperity and Ruin of Subjects. This made *Aristotle*, when he sent *Callisthenes* to *Alexander* the Great, advise him to talk little with him, and only upon agreeable Subjects; for that 'twas a dangerous thing to Treat with one who carried the Power of Life and Death at his Tongues end. There's not a Word comes from a Prince's Mouth without a peculiar Emphasis: Is it about Business, they are Commands; if of Crimes, they are Sentences; if of Promises, Obligations; by his Words he is either obeyed or disobeyed. Let Princes therefore take care how they use this Tongue of theirs, which Nature has not meerly by chance fenced and inclosed with, as it were, a Wall of Teeth; nor is there less need of a Bridle for the Tongue, than for a Horse (7). 'Tis, it is true, one of the least Members of the Body, but 'tis like the Rudder of a Ship, on whose Motion the loss or safety of the whole Vessel de-

(5) A Fool travaileth with a Word, as a Woman in labour of a Child. *Eccles.* 19. 11. † L. 1. tit. 4. part. 2. (5) Where the Word of a King is, there is power. *Eccl.* 8. 4. (6) Death and Life are in the Power of the Tongue, *Prov.* 18. 21. (7) *Eccl.* 28. 29.

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pends. The Tongue is placed in a wet place, and so easily slips, unless stai'd by Prudence. Hence that Prayer of *David*; *Set a Watch, O Lord, before my Mouth, keep the Door of my Lips* (8).

For a Prince to condescend to a familiar Conversation with any one, lessens his Character, prostitutes his Authority, and brings many other Inconveniences upon him, unless he do it for Information; for every Man desires to have a wise Prince, and one that understands his Affairs very well; which is next to an impossibility, for a Prince can't know all things (9); and if he answer in the least from the purpose, he shall be presently condemned for Insufficiency or Negligence. Besides, that Princes Talents and Endowments very rarely answer the generally received Opinion of them; therefore to avoid the danger of this, the *Roman* Emperors chose to Treat with their Subjects by Notes, and give them Answers in Writing, as well to get time for Deliberation, as because the Pen is less subject to mistake than the Tongue; for this can't handsomely defer an Answer, that can. *Sejanus*, however great a Favourite of *Tiberius*'s, conferr'd only with him by way of Memorial (10). There are, however, some Affairs which may be better treated of by Word of Mouth; particularly, when there's something of danger in leaving ones Sentiments in anothers hands, which are a kind of perpetual Evidence, and more liable to be wrested to different meanings than Words, which as they quickly pass, and stick not deep in the Memory, are not so easily actionable. But whether a Prince gives his Answers this, or the other way, he should always remember, that brevity is the most prudent, and most becoming a Prince's Majesty (11). Hence *Tacitus* gives that Epithet Imperial to Brevity (12).

(8) Psalm 140. 3. (9) *Neque posse Principem sua scientia cuncta complecti.* Tac 3. Ann. (10) *Composit ad Cæsarem codicillos: moris quippe tum erat quamquam præsentem scripto adire.* Tac. 4. Ann. (11) *Multum brevi sermone inest prudentiæ.* Sophocl. (12) *Imperatoria brevitate.* Tac. 1. Hist.

You ſhould uſe the Tongue as your Sword, that is, not lay your ſelf too open to your Adverſary; he that diſcloſes his whole Mind, expoſes himſelf to Danger. Conciſe Diſcourſes have the greateſt Efficacy, and leave moſt room for Reflection. Nothing's ſo like a King, as to talk little, and hear much. Nor is it leſs requiſite for him to know how to be ſilent, than how to ſpeak. In this, Men are our Maſters. In that, God himſelf, who always injoyns Silence in his Myſteries. He reſembles the Divinity moſt, who has learnt to hold his Peace. *Even a fool when he holdeth his peace is counted wiſe, and he that ſhutteth his Lips is eſteemed a Man of underſtanding* (13). *The heart of fools is in their mouth, but the mouth of the wiſe is in their heart* (14). This is Prudence to avoid both Extreams, for each has its danger:

All to Talk, or none,
Are diſtant, and yet neighbouring Faults. Auſon.

'Tis then only convenient to ſpeak, when Silence prejudices either the Prince or Truth. Majeſty by a Nod only ſufficiently explains its ſelf. Silence well-timed, is in Princes great Eloquence; and a grave and modeſt Carriage are uſually more ſignificantly expreſſive of one's Thoughts than Words themſelves. But if one's obliged to uſe theſe at any time, they ought to be ſincere, and with liberty in thinking becoming a King.

Your free Conceptions dreſs in plain Words. Taſſ.

For by too many Aſſeverations, Oaths, and unneceſſary Proofs, they either quite loſe their Credit, or at leaſt are rendred ſuſpicious; they ought then to be Grave without Moroſeneſs; Graceful without Affectation; of Force without Roughneſs; laſtly, Common

(13) Prov. cap. 17. (14) Eccleſ. 21. 29.

not

not Vulgar. Even with God, Words well ordered, ſeem to have moſt weight and influence (15).

But the Tongue and Pen require no where more prudent Moderation than in Promiſes, in which Princes either out of a natural Generoſity, or to obtain their Ends with more eaſe, or to avoid a Danger, are uſually extravagant; which when they can't perform, they loſe their Credit, and procure themſelves Enemies, ſo that it had been better not to have been ſo laviſh of them. There have been more Wars occaſioned by the Breach of Promiſes than by Injuries. For Intereſt is ſeldom in theſe ſo much concerned as in them. And Princes are generally moved more by their own Advantage than by Injuries received. To make large Promiſes, and not keep them, is interpreted by a Superior, an Affront; by an Equal, Injuſtice; by an Inferior, Tyranny (16). The Tongue therefore ſhould not be too forward to promiſe, without aſſurance that the Promiſe can be performed (17).

In Threats alſo, the Tongue eaſily goes beyond its Limits; for the Heat of Anger ſoon puts it in Motion, and when Revenge can't equal the Paſſion, of neceſſity Prudence; nay, and Supream Power muſt loſe not a little of their Credit. 'Tis therefore much more adviſeable to diſſemble Injuries, that the Effects of Satisfaction may be conſidered before the Prince threatens it. He that uſes Menaces before his Hands, deſigns either to make them the only Inſtruments of his Revenge, or to give his Enemy warning. There's no more terrible threatning than Silence. If mine's already let off, no one is afraid; thoſe are always more formidable that lie ſtill conceal'd under-ground; for the Effects of the Imagination are uſually greater than thoſe of the Senſes.

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(15) Job 41. 3. (16) Better is it that thou ſhouldeſt not vow, than that thou ſhouldeſt vow and not pay. *Eccleſ.* 5. 5. (17) Be not haſty in thy Tongue, and in thy Deeds ſlack and remiſs, *Eccl.* 4. 29.

Detraction has in it a great mixture of Envy and Oſtentation; it is always almoſt of an Inferior towards his Superior, and conſequently much below a Prince, by whoſe Lips no Man's Honour ought to be brought in queſtion. If he ſees Vices, he ſhould puniſh them; if other ſmall Defects, correct or connive at them.

The praiſe of brave Actions and Services is a part of their Reward; excites the Perſon commended to, as it were an Emulation of himſelf, and is a Spur to others. However, to commend all Subjects indifferently, is not without danger. For the Judgment they paſs on them being various and uncertain, and that Praiſe, a kind of definitive Sentence, time may diſcover to have been raſhly given; in the mean time, the Prince's Honour will oblige him not to retract eaſily what he has once approved. As well therefore for this reaſon, as not to give occaſion to Envy, great Circumſpection is required in praiſing Perſons, which is alſo one of the Holy Spirit's Oracles, *Judge no one bleſſed before his Death* (18). It was a principal Maxim among the *Stoicks*, to commend no one raſhly, becauſe ſcarce any thing can be affirmed with certainty, and we are often deceived in things that appear to us moſt praiſe-worthy.

(18) Vid. Lat. Verſ. *Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quenquam.* Eccleſ. 11. 30.

EMBLEM XII.

THE Heart of Man, Nature, that skilful Architect, has hid in the moſt retired part of the Breaſt; however, leaſt probably, ſeeing it ſelf thus concealed, and without Witneſſes, it ſhould do any thing againſt the Law of Reaſon, ſhe has withal given Man that native Colour or Fire of Blood, for Modeſty to inflame his Countenance withal, and accuſe his Heart, if it deviate from Honour in any thing, or think otherwiſe than the Tongue ſpeaks, both which ought always to have the ſame Motion, and a mutual Agreement in all things. But Malice by degrees effaces that Mark which is uſed in Children to ſhew its ſelf. Hence the *Romans* well-knowing the importance of Truth for the eſtabliſhment of Society, and maintaining Commerce in the Commonwealth; and deſiring nothing more

than to preserve the shame of deserting it among Men, hung about their Childrens Neck a Golden Heart, (which they called *Bulla*) an Hieroglyphick, says *Ausonius*, invented by *Pythagoras*, to signify the Ingenuity Men ought to profess in Conversation, and the Sincerity they should observe in Truth, wearing at their Breast, a Heart uncovered, as it were, and open, the Genuine Emblem of that Truth. And this we commonly mean, when speaking of a Man of Veracity, we say he carries his Heart in his Hands, or that he is open-hearted. The same the *Egyptian* Priests signified by the Sapphire they put upon their Princes Breasts, to represent emblematically the same Truth; as their Ministers of Justice also used to wear about them some Figure of it. Nor should any one imagine, that for the Prince to be so sincere, and professed a Lover of Truth, would perhaps but give an occasion to Deceit and Cozenage; for on the contrary, nothing is more effectual in preventing those Cheats, and driving away Lyes, which never dare look Truth in the face. The same Observation I take that advice of *Pythagoras* to allude to, never to speak with one's Back towards the Sun; thereby intimating that nothing ought to be uttered repugnant to Truth; for a Liar can't bear the bright Rays of Truth, signified by the Sun upon a double account, both because of the Sun's Unity; as for that it disperses Darkness, and drives away Shades, restoring to all things their true Light and proper Colours, as the present Emblem shews; where as soon as that Luminary is got above the Horizon, the Obscurity of Night immediately flies, and the Nocturnal Birds retire to the Woods dark Coverts, which in that's absence, and favoured by the Silence of Night, use while others sleep, to seek their Prey. What Confusion is the Owl in, if by chance she comes into the Sun's presence? In that glittering Light she Staggers to and fro, and is confounded, that Splendor quite blinds her, and frustrates all her Tricks. Can any one have so much Subtilty and Craft, but they will presently fail him when he comes

before

before an ingenuous Prince, and one that is a particular Friend to Sincerity and Truth (1)?

There's no force able to penetrate into the Deſigns of a candid Mind, if that Candor want not ſome Retirements for Prudence. Is there any thing more open and evident to the Eyes of the World, any thing more reſplendent, more oppoſed to Shadows and Darkneſs than the Sun? Nevertheleſs, if any one will look ſtedfaſt upon its Rays, he will diſcover I know not what Abuſes, as 'twere, and Obſcurities of Light, which ſo darken the Eyes, that what they ſaw, they can't tell. Thus Knavery is blinded with the Light of Truth, and its Foundations overturned, nor can it find any more a way to delude with its Artifices. 'Tis a Victory truly worthy a Prince, to conquer Frauds and Cheats with Ingenuity, Lyes with Truth. To lye is a ſlaviſh Vice, and conſequently very unbecoming the generous Mind of Princes, who above all Men ſhould endeavour to render themſelves like God, who is Truth it ſelf (2). *Whence Kings*, (ſays King *Alphonſo*) *who keep its place upon Earth, and to whom it particularly belongs to guard it, ought to take ſpecial care not to contradict it by falſity; if a King ſhould once give himſelf to Lying, he will not be believed, even when he ſpeaks truth, and will farther give incouragement to others to follow his Example.* This inconveniency *Tiberius* experimented, who often pretending to reſtore Liberty and the Conſular Government to the Commonwealth, and to remit the Management of Affairs to others, cauſed the People to miſtruſt him when he meant really and honeſtly (3).

The greater Monarchs are, they are the more expoſed to Vanity and Lyes (4). The Rays of a plentiful Fortune eaſily contract the Clouds of Detraction.

(1) *Magni præſentia veri.* Virgil. (2) Excellent Speech becometh not a Fool; much leſs do lying Lips a Prince. *Prov.* 17. 7. (3) *Ad vana & toties irrita revolutus de reddenda Repub. utque conſules, ſeu quis alius regimen ſuſciperet, vero quoque & honeſto fidem dempſit.* Tac. 4 Ann. (4) *Cuncta magnis imperiis obtectari ſolitus.* Tac. 4. Ann.

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In great Empires all things have the worst Construction put upon them, and are obnoxious to Reproaches. What open Force can't do, Calumny by secret Mines attempts, in which thing he that hath the Rule over others, has need of great Courage, not to change his Course, or suffer himself to be stopt by the Clamours of Cavillers. This constancy and firmness of Mind has always eminently appeared in the Kings of *Spain*, to whom it has been, in a manner, natural to despise Envy and Calumny; by which means alone, many Clouds of that Nature have been dispelled, which as Majesty raises, so it also by the force of Truth dissipates, as the Sun's Heat does Vapours. What infamous Libels, what manifest Falsities, what forg'd Stories, what Calumnies have malicious Men often spread against the *Spanish* Monarchy? Nor for all this, could that Envy be able to cast the least Blemish upon its so just Administration of the Kingdoms 'tis possessed of in *Europe*, because that is open to the World, and visible to all. Among other things, by new contriv'd Devices, and studied Lyes to render its Government odious, and so make the Rebellious Princes less desirous of a Reconciliation: I know not what Author, under the Name of the Bishop of *Chapa*, has published a Book, wherein he gives a large Account of the Inhumane and Barbarous Usage the *Indians* received from the *Spaniards*; and that those Lyes might have a more easy Credit; the Book was first spread about in *Spain*, as Printed at *Sevil*, afterwards Translated into other Languages. An ingenious Invention indeed, and accurate piece of Malice, and of more consequence than perhaps can be believed, for upon some easy Minds it had very ill Effect, though most of the more prudent soon discovered the Cheat; in as much as all those things are abundantly confuted by the extraordinary Zeal for Religion and Justice, the *Spanish* Nation always with great Constancy exercises and maintains all over the World, nor is it unlike its self in the *Indies* only. I won't however deny, but at the first Invasion of

America,

America, ſome things happened not altogether to be approved, but this was only by their fault, who thinking this Known World too little for their vaſt Minds, had the boldneſs by the Permiſſion, rather than Command, or Choice of their King to try their Fortune in other Parts, and diſcover New Countries hitherto unknown, where they found a barbarous People, Idolatrous to Superſtition, more Savage than Beaſts, who brutally lived on Man's Fleſh, whoſe Inhumanity was incorrigible but by force and utmoſt rigour. But it was not long before their Catholick Majeſties provoided a Remedy againſt theſe Diſorders, for they ſent to thoſe Coaſts Commiſſaries to puniſh thoſe ſeverely they found had been guilty; and to maintain entire Juſtice among the *Indians*, they gave afterwards many Paternal Orders for their Preſervation, of which it was none of the leaſt to exempt them from thoſe ſevere Labours they daily underwent in the Mines, and in other things before the Diſcovery of thoſe Countries. They ſent beſides, Divines with great Zeal to teach them the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Faith; founded Biſhopricks at their own Expences, and thoſe of the Crown, and maintained Religious Convents for the benefit of that new planted Church, without ſuffering them from the time thoſe vaſt Countries fell into the *Spaniards* hands, even in the abſence of their new Maſters, to want any any thing which 'tis a King's Duty to ſupply his Subjects withal. In which the Government of this State, and the Vigilance of its Miniſters, may in a manner ſeem to ſurpaſs that of the Sun it's ſelf, of the Moon and Stars, and the Influence they have over things below; for but a few hours, in which the Sun's preſence lightens one Hemiſphere; the other is in Confuſion, while Malice cloaths and covers its ſelf with the Darkneſs of Night, and under the Mask, as it were, of that Obſcurity commits Murders, Robberies, Adulteries, and every thing that's ill, the Sun's providence not being able to prevent them, though, indeed, even in the Night he ſpreads ſome Twilight above the Horizon, or

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in the interim leaves the performance of his Office to the Moon as his Vicegerent, and the Stars as his Ministers, and communicates to them the Authority of his Rays. From this our World, the Kings of *Spain* govern that other in Justice, Peace, and Religion, with the same Political Happiness the Kingdoms of *Castile* enjoy to their satisfaction. But least the Envious and Enemies of the *Spanish* Monarchy should triumph with these their Artifices, and that all the Calumnies of that Book may be entirely overthrown, let us suppose all those Evils, which Malice has feigned the *Indians* to have suffered, to be true; and compare them to what have been really undergone in our own time in several Wars, as well against *Genoa*, as in *Germany*, *Burgundy*, and *Lorrain*, and 'twill appear clearer than light, that that lye comes far short of the truth of these. What cruel Torments have Tyrants ever invented against Innocence, which in these our times we have not seen put in practice, not against inhumane and barbarous People, but civilized Nations; and those not always Enemies, but even their own Members, without respect to Propinquity of Blood, or Piety towards their Country? How often have we seen Auxiliary Forces turn their Weapons upon them that sent them? Defence been more bloody than open Offence? Protection become immediate Destruction; Friendship, Hostility? Not a stately Edifice, not a Sacred Place, has been spared by Fire and Sword: In a little time we have seen an infinite number of Towns, Forts, and Cities, buried in their own Ashes; and Countries very populous changed into most Solitary Deserts. Nor yet, could that Thirst of Humane Blood be quench'd or satisfied. 'Twas no new thing then to try Pistols and Swords upon Mens Breasts, as Bodies of Trees, and that not only in the heat of Battel, but in cool Blood, 'twas then a very agreeable Spectacle to see the deformed Looks, and trimbling Limbs of Men expiring. How often have Mens Bellies ript open served for Mangers? Sometimes in those of Women ('tis dreadful to mention it) their tender Embryo's were

were mixt with Straw and Oats, and made Provender for Horſes. At the Expence of Life, 'twas try'd, how much Water a Man's Body would hold, or how long one could live without Suſtenance. Nuns were violated, Daughters of good Families diſhonoured, Wives raviſhed in the very ſight of their Parents and Husbands. Women, as all other Spoil or Plunder, were either ſold or exchanged for Cows or Horſes, and Labourers were put to Chariots, and compell'd to draw them as Horſes; and to make them diſcover where their Riches lay, hung by the Feet and Members, and thus let down into hot Furnaces. There Children were barbarouſly murdered before their Eyes, that Paternal Affection might in the Grief of theſe their dearest Pledges effect what ſelf-love could not oblige them to. In Woods and Foreſts where Wild Beaſts find refuge, Men could not; for the Blood-hounds chaſed them thence, and brought them to the Stake. The deepeſt Lakes were not ſecure from ſo Ingenious Coveteouſneſs and Rapine; the Effects of theſe wretched People were rak'd thence with Hooks and Nets. Not ſo much as dead Mens Bones were ſuffered to reſt, Tombs and Grave-ſtones were thrown down to ſearch under them for Treaſures. There's no magical, no deviliſh Art which they put not in practice to diſcover their Money. Many thouſand Men periſhed by Cruelty and Covetouſneſs, not by their own Baſeneſs, as the *Indians*, whoſe Extirpation Divine Juſtice permitted, for having been ſo many Ages Rebels to their Creator. I mention not theſe things to accuſe any Nation in particular; for I am aſſured moſt, if not all, have acted their Parts in this Barbarous and Inhumane Tragedy; but only to vindicate that of the *Spaniards* from Calumny. The ſweeteſt and beſt fram'd Mind is ſometimes in danger of tranſgreſſing its Limits. 'Tis the weakneſs of our frail Nature, to be ſubject to commit the moſt brutiſh Action, if it want the Bridle of Religion and Juſtice.

EMBLEM XIII.

THE Moon ſupplies the Sun's abſence, in preſiding over Night; upon the various Motions, upon the Increaſe and Decreaſe of that, depend the Vigor and Conſervation of things here below; and although that is as much more beautiful as theſe be obſcure, and of themſelves weak, as receiving their Being from its Light; yet there's no one, either upon that account, or for its other innumerable Benefits, takes much notice of it, even, at the height of its Splendor. But if it be at any time by the Interpoſition of the Earth Eclipſed, and diſcover the defects of its Body, not as before illuminated by the Sun, but dark and opacous, immediately all Mens Eyes are upon it, all obſerve it; nay, this Accident Curioſity long before anticipates, and meaſures its Steps every moment. What are Princes,

but

but a kind of Terrestrial Planets and Moons, on which that Divine Sun of Justice diffuses its Rays for the Government of the Earth? For if those Stars have Power over things, these have over minds. This I imagine made the *Persian* Kings endeavour by a sort of false Rays to imitate the Form of the Sun and Moon, to make themselves esteemed equal to those Planets. *Sapor*, one of them in a Letter to the Emperor *Constantius*, called himself Brother to the Sun and Moon (1). Princes, their Dignity makes conspicuous among other Men, as placed in the highest Orbs of Power and Empire, and so exposed to all Mens Censures. They are *Colossi*, or vast Statues, whose Parts can't bear the least Disproportion one to another, but others Eyes will presently be upon it. They ought therefore to be very circumspect in their Actions, since they are the Objects of the whole World's Attention; and tho' their good ones pass sometimes without Remark, their Faults will never escape Observation. Curiosity employs a hundred Eyes, and far more Ears, to penetrate Princes most Secret Thoughts. They seem like that Stone in *Zacchariah*, upon which were Seven Eyes (2). For which reason, in the highest Grandeur there is least Liberty (3).

The Prince's Hand keeps time in that Musical Consort, which good and prudent Government makes; if this time be not regular and even, there arises a Confusion of Voices, and the Harmony is disordered in others, in that all follow the Motion of that. Hence 'tis, that States generally resemble their Princes, and sooner the ill than the good; for as Subjects use so carefully to observe their Vices, they make an Impression on their Minds, and are easily afterwards imitated out of Flattery. For Vicious Princes not only commit

(1) *Rex Regum Sapor, particeps siderum, & frater solis, & Lunæ, Constantio fratri meo salutem.* Ammian. Marcel. lib 4. (2) Zach. 3. 9. (3) *Qui magno imperio præditi in excelso ætatem agunt, eorumque facta cuncti mortales noverc, ita maximâ fortunâ minima licentia est.* Salust.

Vices

Vices themſelves, but infuſe them into their People, and are more blameable for the Example than the Fault; and experience tells us, that bad Habits commonly do more miſchief than the very beſt do good; for ſuch is the perverſe Inclination of our Nature, that it rather ſtudies to imitate Vices than Virtues. How Great, how Excellent, were thoſe of *Alexander* the Great? Yet, the Emperor *Caracalla* ſtrove to reſemble him in nothing but that Habit he had of leaning his Head on his Left Shoulder. Though, indeed, ſome of a Prince's Vices prejudice himſelf only; others affect alſo the Commonwealth, as *Tacitus* has obſerved in *Vitellius* and *Otho* (4). Yet they are all extreamly prejudicial to Subjects by the Example they give. Our eaſy Tempers are biaſs'd by Princes (5); we follow their Example, whether they be Good or Evil, like thoſe Wheels in *Ezekiel*'s Viſion, which in all things exactly followed the Motion of the Cherubims (6). Each Action of Princes ſeems to be a Command to be obeyed by Imitation (7). Subjects imagine they do their Prince an agreeable piece of Service in imitating his Vices, and ſeeing theſe are Maſters of the Will; Flattery eaſily perſwades her ſelf this muſt be the way to gain it. Thus *Tigellinus* grew daily more Bold and Confident, thinking his ill Practices would be leſs unacceptable, if he could engage his Prince *(Nero)* to be his Aſſociate in them (8). By this means 'tis the Commonwealth is diſordered, and Virtue confounded. Princes ſhould therefore lead ſuch a Life, ſo form their Manners, that all may learn by them to be Virtuous and Honeſt; which advice they have given them by King *Alphonſo*, in the Sixth of his Law.

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(4) *Vitellius ventre, & gula ſibi ipſi hoſtis: Otho luxu, ſævitia, audentia Reipub. exitioſior ducebatur.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (5) *Flexibiles in quamcunque partem ducimur à principibus, atque, ut ita dicam, ſequentes ſumus.* Plin. in Paneg. (6) Ezek. 10. 16. (7) *Ea conditio principum, ut quicquid faciant, præcipere videantur.* Quinct. (8) *Validioſque indies Tigellinus, & malas artes quibus pollebat, gratiores ratus, ſe principem ſocietate ſceleris obſtringeret.* Tac. 14. Ann.

For

For if Vices extinguish the Lamp of Virtue in a Prince, who ought like a Beacon to give Light to all, and shew them the secureſt Course to Sail in, he cannot avoid dashing against Rocks the Vessel of the Commonwealth; it being impossible for that Government to be well ordered, where the Prince has abandoned himself to Vice: *For*, says King *Alphonso*, *the Nature of Vice is such, that the more a Man uses it, the more he loves it.*

The People easily slight and contemn Laws, if they see him that is the very Soul of them not observe them. Thus, as the Moon's Eclipses prejudice the Earth, so the Prince's Faults are the Destruction of his Kingdom: For the Punishment due to them, God Almighty generally inflicts upon the Subjects too, and that deservedly, for that in following his Example, they make themselves Accessary to the same Crimes; as 'tis related in Scripture of the People of *Israel* under *Jeroboam* (9).

The bare Shadow of an ill Action, which obscured King *Roderigo*'s Fame, kept the Liberty of all *Spain* in Darkness for many Years; wherefore that barbarous Custom of the *Mexicans* is in some measure excusable; who at the Inauguration of a New King, obliged him to take an Oath he would Administer Justice, not oppress his Subjects; that he would be in War strenuous and valiant: In a word, that he would † take care the Sun continued his Course, and preserved his Splendor; that the Clouds should give Rain, and the Rivers Water, and that the Earth should produce its Fruit plentifully. For the Sun himself obeys a Holy Prince, as *Joshua* experienced for a Reward of his Virtue, and the Earth is more than ordinary Fertile out of Gratitude, in a manner to the Justice of Kings towards their People. This is what *Homer* would signify by these Verses:

(9) And the Lord shall give *Israel* up, because of the Sins of *Jeroboam*, who did sin, and made *Israel* to sin. 1 *Kings* 14. 16.
† Lop. Gamar.

The King, who takes Religion for his Guide;
Who does for's Subjects wholesome Laws provide;
For him the willing Earth shews all its Stock,
Corn, Wine, and Fruit; for him the teeming Flock
Brings double Births; the Sea opens all its Cells:
Where Justice reigns, their Peace and Plenty dwells.

The goodness of a Year is not to be judged of so much by good Fruit, as the Justice of the Prince (10). And 'tis very much the Opinion of the Vulgar, that those who Govern them, are the only Cause of their Happiness or Misery; nay, they often impute to the Prince, even Casualities, as the *Roman* People did to *Tiberius* (11).

Let not a Prince perswade himself that his Vices will be less censured, for suffering them to go unpunished in others, or having them in common with the People, as 'tis related *Witiza* did: For though Subjects love Libertinism, they hate the Author of it; which was the reason it cost him afterwards his Life, being by all Men hated for his scandalous way of living. What we usually Censure in others as highly Base and Infamous, in our selves we scarce allow to be Infirmities of Nature. The greatest Defect in our selves we easily connive at, but in a Looking-Glass can't suffer the least Spot. Such a one is a Prince, in whose Person his Subjects have a view of themselves, nor is any thing more unpleasant to them, than to see him sullied with Vice. *Nero* was not at all less infamous for having many Companions in his Debaucheries; however he thought thereby to avoid Scandal (12).

Nor should Princes imagine themselves secure from a self-consciousness of their good Actions; for when-

(10) *Annum bonum non tam de bonis fructibus, quam de juste regnantibus existimandum.* Boetius. (11) *Qui mos vulgo fortuita ad culpam trahentes.* Tac. 4. Ann. (12) *Ratusque dedecus emoliri, si plures fodasset.* Tac. 14. Ann.

over

ever the People can't inform themselves of their Actions, they begin nicely to examine them, and always put the worst Interpretation upon them; wherefore 'tis not enough for them to do well, but necessary, also, that the means they use have no appearance of Evil. And how will that Man have any thing secret, who can't be without his own Grandeur, and a Retinue of Courtiers, nor do any thing alone; whose Liberty draws with it so many Fetters and Golden Chains, whose noise every one hears? This was signified in the Person of the High-Priest, by those little Bells that hung round the bottom of his Garment, least he should forget that his Steps were exposed to all Mens Ears (13). All the Guards both within and without a Prince's Palace, all the Courtiers that attend him in his Chamber or Closet, are so many Spies of his Words and Actions; nay, and very Thoughts, attentively observing all his Gestures, and the Motions of his Countenance, that discoverer of the Heart. Thus, according to the *Psalmist*'s Expression, *Their Eyes look unto his Hands* (14). But if they observe any failing in a Prince, though they pretend to conceal it, yet they love to discover it, either to get the Reputation of Persons discreet, and well acquainted with the Government, or that of Zealots. Here they look on one another, and no one daring to open his Mouth, they speak most by their Silence. The Secret boils and bubbles within them, agitated by the fervent desire they have of revealing it, till at last it overflows (15). Tongues run to Ears. This Man discloses it to that, having first obliged him by Oath to Secrecy; that in the same manner to another; so that while no body knows, 'tis known to all. Thus, as 'twere in a moment Calumny passes from the Closet

(13) And he compassed him with Pomegranates, and with golden Bells round about, that there might be a sound, and a noise made, that might be heard in the Temple. *Eccl.* 45. 9. (14) *Psal.* 122. 2. (15) His word was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay, *Jer.* 20. 9.

to the Offices, thence to the Streets and Publick Places. But what wonder is it, if this happens among Domeſticks, when Princes are not aſſured, even, of their own faithfulneſs, however deſirous they are to conceal their Vices and Tyrannies; for their own Conſcience accuſes them; as it happened to *Tiberius*, who could not forbear diſcloſing to the Senate the Miſeries which he ſuffered from his Crimes (16). However, Princes ought not to be diſcouraged, if by their Induſtry and Diligence they ſeem not to ſatisfy every one; for that is a thing impoſſible, nor will ever Paſſion, Envy, and the ſo different Judgment of the Mob concur to commend him, much leſs can this our frail Nature in all things act without Fault and Error. Is any one more careful and ſollicitous in giving Light to this World, any more perfect than that Eye of it, that Prince of Light, the Sun, who gives Being, Colour, and Beauty to all things? Yet notwithſtanding the Splendor of his Rays, Curioſity diſcovers therein I know not what Spots and Obſcurities. This care of the Prince to regulate his own Life and Actions, ought to be extended to thoſe alſo of his Miniſters, the Repreſentatives of him, in as much as both God and Men hold him to be no leſs obliged to do the one than the other. Tis not the Moon's defect, what it ſuffers in an Eclipſe, but that of the Earth, which interpoſes its Shadow betwixt it and the Sun; nevertheleſs every one imputes it to the Moon; and this Shadow only is ſufficient to darken its Rays, and create ſo much prejudice to things here below. Prince's Vices we only attribute to his depraved Will; but to let Crimes in his Miniſters go unpuniſhed, is eſteemed baſeneſs of Mind. The vehemence of the Paſſions and Affections is ſome excuſe for our particular faults, but to indulge them in others, is wholly inexcuſable. A Vicious Prince may have Virtuous Miniſters; but if he begin to connive with them, both he and they

(16) *Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non ſolitudines protegebant, quin commenta pectoris, ſuaſque ipſe pœnas fateretur.* Tac. 1. Ann.

will

will be bad. Hence it sometimes happens, that an ill Prince's Government may be good, provided he take care others follow not his Example: For that Rigour suffers not any Action to be mimick'd out of Flattery, nor lets that natural Inclination of the Will prevail, by which every one loves to resemble Princes by imitating their Actions. Grant such a Prince bad for himself, he will be good for the State. To give absolute Liberty to Ministers, is wholly to abandon the Reins of Government. Wicked Princes are as difficult to be cured as tainted Lungs; in that Remedies can't be applied to them. For these consist in hearing and seeing, both which they are equally averse to; nay, love not that others should hear or see; at least, their Domesticks and Ministers, who rather applaud Princes Vices, don't suffer it; but as the Ancients were used to make a great noise with Brass and Cymbals, while the Moon was in Eclipse (17); so they make it their business with Musick, and other Divertisements, to amuze the Prince's Mind, chiefly to keep his Ears continually employed, least the Peoples Clamours, or the Voice of Truth, which discovers Cheats, should reach them: And lastly, that the Prince being plunged in the same Vices with themselves, there may be none to Reprove and Correct them.

(17) *Igitur aris suis, tubarum, cornuumque concentu strepere, prout splendidior, obscuriorve latari aut mœrere.* Tac. 6. Ann.

EMBLEM XIV.

THERE's ſcarce any one Inſtrument can by its ſelf make a Work of Art entirely perfect. What the Hammer can't, the File finiſhes. Yea, faults of the Loom the Shears (the Body of the preſent Emblem) correct, and give an additional neatneſs and beauty to Cloath. The Cenſure of others rectifies our Manners; they would be full of Knots, did not the Tongue clip them off: Thoſe whom the Law its ſelf can't Curb or Reform, oftentimes fear of Blame only reſtrain, that being the Spur of Virtue, and Bridle to keep it in the right way. Reproofs upon the obedient Ears of a prudent Prince, are (as *Solomon* ſays) *like Ear-rings of Gold and glittering Pearls* (1), wonderfully Ornamental and great

(1) Prov. 25. 12.

Accom-

Accomplishments to him. There's no more mortal Enemy to Vice than Censure, it has far more Efficacy than Exhortation and Instruction; for Exhortation proposes at a distance future Fame and Glory; Censure immediately accuses what is Base and Dishonourable, and inflicts present Punishment, by divulging the Infamy. That incites us to do well; this not to do ill, and the Mind more easily abstains from what is Ignominious, than it enterprizes a thing Difficult and Honourable. In effect, 'tis with reason Honour is reputed to consist in the Opinion of others, that we may dread that Opinion, and seeing our Actions depend upon each Man's Judgment, make it our business to satisfy all. Thus, although Murmur be bad in its self, 'tis however good for the State; in that there's nothing has more Power and Influence over Magistrates and Princes. What would not Power dare, did not Blame resist it? What Crimes would not that fall into, were there no such thing as this? There's no better Counsellors in the World than Murmurs, for they proceed from experience of Evils. Could Princes hear them, undoubtedly things would succeed better. Satyrs and Libels I dare not altogether approve, for they generally either exceed the bounds of Truth, or give rise to Scandals, Tumults, and Seditions; however possibly some allowance ought to be made therein, in consideration of the good Effects they have. Obtrectation is a sign of Liberty in a Commonwealth, for in that which Tyranny oppresses, 'tis by no means tolerated. 'Tis a happy time when you have liberty to think what you please, and speak what you think (2). 'Twould be unjust in him that governs to desire to put a Door upon his Subjects Lips, and forbid them to complain under the Yoke of their Slavery. Let them Murmur, let them Revile, while they let us Reign, said Pope *Sixtus* V. to those who told him how ill *Rome* spoke of him. Indeed, not

(1) *Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere licet.* Tac. I. Hist.

to be concerned or moved at all by Detraction, were to have caſt off all Sentiments of Honour; than which nothing is worſe in a Prince, for he then makes a Pleaſure of Infamy; he ought therefore ſo to reſent them, as thence to learn ſomething, not with a deſign of Revenge. How will one be able to put up greater things, who can't connive at ſuch inconſiderable Triſles (3)? 'Twas no leſs Virtue in the Great Captain † to ſuffer the Complaints and Clamours of his Army at the River *Garigliano*, than undauntedly to withſtand ſo eminent a Danger. 'Tis impoſſible to repreſs this Licenſe and Liberty of the People. Thoſe Princes are miſtaken, who think by their preſent Power to extinguiſh the Memory of the following Age, or imagine their Majeſty is able to gild bad Actions (4). Not all *Nero*'s Liberality, nor feigned Piety could waſh away his Infamy, for having ſet the City on Fire (5). Flattery, 'tis true, can take care that Slanders come not to the Prince's Ears, but can't help but there will be Slanderers. A Prince, who forbids his Actions to be ſpoke of, renders them ſuſpected; and as the Commonalty are apt to preſume the worſt, they are publiſhed for bad. Thoſe things are leaſt aggravated, which are not much valued. *Vitellius* forbad any one to mention his bad Actions; hence many, who, if they had been at liberty, would have ſaid otherwiſe, meerly becauſe of the Prohibition, ſpoke more to his diſadvantage (6). A Prince ought to paſs over Commendations and Invectives, ſo as not to be tickled with them, nor by theſe dejected. If Praiſes pleaſe him, and he give ear to them, every one will try to make himſelf Maſter of

(3) *Magnarum rerum curas non diſſimulaturos, qui animum etiam leviſſimis adverterent.* Tac. 13. Ann. † *Gonſalvo* of *Cordova.* (4) *Quo magis ſecordiam eorum irridere libet, qui præſenti potentiâ, credunt extingui poſſe etiam ſequentis ævi memoriam.* Tac. 4. Ann. (5) *Non ope humana, non largitionibus, aut Deûm placamentis decedebat infamia, quin juſſum incendium crederetur.* Tac. 13. Ann. (6) *Prohibiti per civitatem ſermones, eoque plures, ac ſi liceret, vera narrarent, quia vetabantur, atrociora vulgaverunt.*

his

his Mind by Flattery; if Murmurers be a disturbance to him, he will decline difficult and glorious Enterprises, and become sluggish in his Government. To be vainly puft up at ones Praises, is a sign of a slender Judgment; to be offended at every thing, is for private Men. To connive at many things is the part of Princes; to pardon nothing, that of Tyrants. This, those Great Emperors, *Theodosius*, *Arcadius*, and *Honorius*, very well knew when they commanded *Ruffinus*, their Captain of the Guards, not presently to punish the Peoples Clamours against them; for, said they, if they proceed from Inconstancy, they are to be despised; if from Madness or Folly, to be pitied; if from Malice, and a design to injure us, to be pardoned (7). Once, while the Emperor *Charles* the V. was at *Barcelona*, an Accusation was brought him in Writing against some, who had traduced his Actions, in order to consult with him about the Sentence to be passed upon them; but he inraged at the Person who presented it, threw the Paper immediately into the Fire, by which he then accidentally stood and burnt it. It belongs, I know, to a Prince to inform himself of all things, but nicely to examine each Word, is unworthy a generous Breast (8). In the *Roman* Republick, Actions only were punished, not Words (9). There's a wide distance between inconsiderately speaking and maliciously acting (10). The Crown would be too Thorny, did the least thing prick it thus. That Injury, which the Person against whom it was designed, don't look upon as such, is very little, if at all offensive. 'Tis too much easiness in the Prince, and a sign he has a mean Opinion of himself, to be moved at every trifling Report; and 'tis an ill Conscience that incites Men to punish Detracters; a Mind pure and undefiled despises things of that Nature.

(7) *Quoniam si id ex levitate processerit contemnendum est, si ex insania, miserationè dignissimum, si ab injuria, remittendum.* L. unica C. si quis imperat. Maledic. (8) *Omnia scire non omnia exequi.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (9) *Facta arguebantur, dicta impunè erant.* Tac. 1. Ann. (10) *Vana à sceleſtis, dicta à maleficiis differunt.* Tac. 3. Ann.

If

If the Aſperſion be true, the Prince's Amendment muſt wipe it off; if falſe, it will of its ſelf diſappear. For Contempt makes ſuch things wear off; Reſentment is a ſeeming acknowledgment of them (11). The *Roman* Senate commanded *Cremutius*'s Annals to be burnt, which made the People more eager and deſirous to read them. 'Twas the ſame with the Scurrilous Pamphlets of *Vejentus*, which were eagerly ſearch'd for, and frequently read, while not to be had without danger, but by being licenſed, ſoon forgot (12). Curioſity ſubmits to no Judges, fears no Puniſhment. What is moſt forbid, it chiefly engages. The very Prohibition inhances the Value of Satyrical Pieces; and when Men of Wit are puniſhed, their Authority increaſes (13). Nor have thoſe Kings, who have uſed ſuch Rigour, procured themſelves any thing but Diſgrace, but to the Author's Honour and Eſteem (14). Now, as 'tis much for a Prince's advantage to know what Ill others ſpeak of him, ſo it is not a little prejudicial to be too ready to hear Defamers: For as we eaſily believe what is accuſed in others to be true; 'tis very obvious for the Prince, either to be deceived, make ſome unjuſt Reſolution, or err in giving Judgment. This is a thing very dangerous, eſpecially in Courts, where Envy, and the gaping after Preferment, and the Favour of Princes, are Whet-ſtones to Defamation; and Courtiers are uſually like thoſe Locuſts in the Revelations, having Mens Faces, but Lions Teeth, with which they gnaw and feed on Honour as Ears of Corn (15). The Holy Spirit compares their Tongues to a ſharp Sword (16); as alſo to Arrows that privily ſtrike the Innocent (17). *David* deſtroyed them as Enemies (18). No Court,

(11) *Namque ſpreta exoleſcunt, ſi traſcare agnita videntur.* Tac. 4. Ann. (12) *Conquiſitos lectitatoſque donec cum periculo parabantur, nec licentia habendi obtrivionem attulit.* Tac. 4. Ann. (13) *Punitis ingeniis gliſcit Autoritas.* Tac. 4. Ann. (14) *Neque aliud externi Reges, aut qui eadem ſævitia uſi ſunt, niſi dedecus ſibi, atque illis gloriam peperere.* Tac. 4. Ann. (15) Rev. 9. 5. (16) Pſal. 56. 5. (17) Pſal. 10. 2. (18) Pſal. 100. 6.

where

where they are tolerated, can be at reſt; and their Whiſpers will give the Prince no leſs trouble than Publick Affairs. The Remedy is, not to hear them, ſetting two Porters at the Ears, Reaſon and Judgment, that they be not opened without conſiderable occaſion. A Guard is no leſs neceſſary at the Ears, than the Palace-Gates; and yet Princes are mighty ſollicitous about theſe, take little or no care about them. He that gives ear too eaſily to Detracters, makes them audacious. No one traduces others, but before one who loves to hear it. It would do well alſo to bring theſe Bablers, and the Perſon accuſed, face to face, telling him what they ſay, that for the future they may be aſhamed to be the Authors of Diſcord. This, if I miſtake not, is meant by the Holy Spirit in theſe Words, *Hedge thy Ears about with Thorns* (19): That he that ſhould put his Mouth to them, to tell malicious Stories, might there find his Puniſhment. The Prince has reaſon to be jealous of one, who dares not publickly ſpeak what he is not afraid to whiſper (20); and although this care may conceal abundance of Truths from the Prince, which, indeed, 'tis for his advantage, there being many Domeſtick things, 'twere better for him to be ignorant of than to know, and the beſt way to baniſh all Defamation in general; yet, when Accuſations proceed not from Malice, but a kind of Zeal to ſerve the Prince, 'tis by all means requiſite to hear, and well examine them, looking on them as Informations abſolutely neceſſary, not only for good Government, but his own Security alſo. Hence the Emperor *Conſtantine*, in a Law for that purpoſe, aſſigns a Reward to thoſe who would accuſe his Miniſters and Domeſticks of any real Crime (21).

(19) Eccl. 27. 23. Lat. Verſ. (20) *Et hanc velim generalem tibi conſtituas regulam, ut omnem qui palam veretur dicere, ſuſpectum habeas.* S. Bern. l. 4. de Conſ. ad Eug. c. 6. (21) *Si quis eſt cujuſcunque loci ordinis, dignitatis, qui ſe in quemcunque Judicum, Comitum, Amicorum, & Palatinorum meorum aliquid veraciter & manifeſte probare poſſe confidit, quod non integre, atque juſte geſſiſſe videatur, intrepidus, atque ſecurus audiat, interpellet me, ipſe audiam omnia, ipſe cognoſcam, & ſi fuerit comprobatum, ipſe me vindicabo.* L. 4. C. de Accuſ.

This

This is absolutely necessary, that the Prince may know all that passes in his Palace, at his Council-Board, and in the Courts of Judicature, where Fear stops the Mouth, and the Favours of the Prince conferred by his Ministers make the Persons gratified dumb, and not dare to discover their Faults, as if, forsooth, this were to acknowledge the good Office, and to shew their Gratitude, which is rather to be esteemed Disloyalty and Treason: For that Obligation they lie under to undeceive their Prince, and if they observe his Ministers to be faulty to inform him, is a natural Obligation of Fidelity, and more binding than any other. 'Tis an infinite prejudice for a Prince to distribute his Favours by the Hands of his Favourites; for these buy, as it were, others at the price of them, who are assisting to the neglect of their Duty, at least approve and defend it; and thus deluding the Prince, are the reason he continues his Affection to them. The Ancient Republicks very sensible how conducive Satyrs were to restrain Vice by the fear of Infamy, allowed them upon Publick Theatres; but these from a general Censure of Mens Morals insensibly degenerated into particular Reflections, not without considerable Injury to the Honour of some; hence proceeded Factions, and from them popular Insurrections: For as the Holy Spirit says, a backbiting Tongue disturbs the Peace, and is the Ruin of whole Families and Cities (22). So, least the Correction of Manners should depend on the Malice of the Tongue or Pen, there were instituted Censors, who by Publick Authority took cognizance of every one's Behaviour, and corrected their Vices. That Office was in those times of great use, and continued long in Vogue, because its Jurisdiction was upheld by Modesty; however in ours 'tis impossible to be executed: For Pride and Libertinism would presently make all the Opposition to it imaginable, as they now resist the Magistracy, however armed

(22) Curse the whisperer, and double tongued; for such have destroyed many that were at Peace, *Eccles.* 28. 13.

with

with the best Laws in the World and Publick Authority, and consequently Censors would be ridiculous, not without great danger to the State; there being nothing more hurtful, nothing that makes Vice more arrogant and insulting, than for such Remedies to be applied to it, as Delinquents turn into Contempt and Ridicule. But as the Office of Censor was introduced for the Reformation of Manners, so was it also to Register the Goods and Estates of every Citizen, and to take the number of them; and although that Custom prevailed a long time, both among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, with great Advantage to the Commonwealth, yet at this day 'twould be very odious and subject to vast Inconveniencies; for to know so accurately the Number and Effects of Subjects, is of no use, but to burthen them with more Taxes and Impositions. That numbring of the People of *Israel* under King *David*, God punished as a most heinous Crime (23): For what is so hard and inhuman, as by publishing and proclaiming every ones Estate at once, to discover the advantages of Poverty, and expose Riches to Envy, Avarice, and Rapine. But if in those States, the Office of Censor, could heretofore be executed without these Inconveniencies; 'twas because its being newly instituted made it generally received and approved, or else because People were then less proud and assuming, less Rebels to Reason, than in these our Times (24).

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(23) 2 Sam. 24. 10. (24) *Quid enim tam durum, tamque inhumanum est quam publicatione pompâque rerum familiarium, & paupertatis detegi utilitatem, & invidiæ exponere divitias.* L. 2. C. quan. & quin. quam. pars.

E M-

EMBLEM XV.

HOW I wiſh I could read on all Princes Breaſts, the Symbol of the preſent Emblem, and that a Balls of Fire flying in the Air imitate the Splendor of the Stars, and ſhine immediately from their being thrown out of the Hand, till they turn to Aſhes; In them alſo (for the Holy Spirit compares them to bright Fire (1)) would continually burn the deſire of Fame (2); nor ſhould they much care, for that Flame wanting Matter to feed on, or that what burns moſt fiercely, is withal ſooneſt conſumed. For though length of Life be the common deſire of Man and Beaſt, yet have theſe no other end than meer living, but Man of living uprightly. 'Tis no happineſs to live but

(1) Eccleſ. 50. 9. (2) *Fax mentis honeſtæ gloria.*

to know how to live, nor does he live moſt, who lives longeſt, but who lives beſt; for Life is not meaſured by time, but the uſe that's made on't. He, whoſe Life like a Star in the midſt of a Cloud, or like the Full Moon, ſhines upon others with Rays of Bounty and Munificence in its Seaſon, does undoubtedly live long (3): As on the contrary, he who lives only to himſelf, though he lives to a great Age, lives but little. The Benefits and Improvements which flow from a Prince upon the State, number the Days of his Life (4), thoſe who live without them, Oblivion deducts from the Sum (5). *Titus Veſpaſian*, the Emperor, calling to mind once at Supper, that he had done nothing for any one that Day, pronounced that remarkable and juſtly admired Sentence, *Friend, I have loſt a Day.* And 'tis reported of *Peter*, King of *Portugal*, that he was wont to ſay, *That he deſerves not to be a King, who does not each day beſtow ſome Favour or Benefit upon the State.* No Man's Life's ſo ſhort, but it affords time enough to execute ſome glorious Exploit. A brave Spirit in one Moment reſolves, and in few more executes its Reſolutions. What matter's it if he falls in the attempt, if the Memory he left behind raiſes him to Life Eternal. It only can be called Life which is bounded by Fame, not that which conſiſts in Body and Vital Warmth, which no ſooner begins, but begins to die too. Death is naturally equal to all, but is diſtinguiſhed by the Glory or Oblivion we leave to Poſterity. Who dying makes Renown a Subſtitute for Life, lives ſtill. Strange force of Virtue, which even againſt Nature, makes that which is of its ſelf fading and periſhable, Immortally glorious. *Tacitus* did not think *Agricola's* Life ſhort, though he was ſnatch'd away in the prime of his Years: for his Glory proleng'd his Life (6). Let no

(3) He was as the Morning Star in the midſt of a Cloud, and as the Moon at the Full. *Eccleſ.* 50. 6. (4) Eccleſ. 41. 16. (5) The number of years is hidden to oppreſſors. *Job* 15. 20. (6) *Quanquam medio in ſpatio integræ ætatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam longiſſimum ævum peregit.* Tac. in Vit. Agric.

one

one deſpiſe or ſlight Poſthumous Fame, for in as much as the Mind covets it, 'tis an acknowledgement that one time or other 'tis to be enjoyed; but they are in the wrong, who think it ſufficient, if they leave it behind them in Statues, or in Poſterity; for in one 'tis fading, in t'other 'tis none of theirs. That only is their own which ſprings from Actions, which if not extraordinary Merit no Praiſe; for Fame is the Daughter of Admiration. To be Born, only to make One in the World, is for the Vulgar Rout; 'tis for Princes to appear perſpicuouſly eminent among others. Others ſtudy what they think their own Intereſt, but the utmoſt and only aim of Princes ſhould be Glory (7). Avarice, and deſire of Riches, fill their Breaſts; but a Prince ſhould be inflamed by an Ambition of Fame (8).

A heavenly Heat inſpires our Prince's Veins. Virg.

A generous Spirit knows no mean; 'twill be either *Cæſar*, or no body; either a ſhining Star, or a dark Cinder; nor will this, if honourably extinguiſhed, ſhine leſs glorioufly on Obelisks, than t'other. Nor, indeed, is that Soul truly great, which, like the beſt Gunpowder fired, does not immediately burſt the Body that includes it. The Breaſt is too narrow to contain a brisk and active Soul. *Garci Sancho*, King of *Navarre*, going to ingage the Enemy, trembled all over, yet in the Fight behaved himſelf bravely and couragiouſly. His Body dreaded that great Multitude of Enemies, into which his Courage prepared to carry it. Let it therefore be the whole Aim of a Prince to live glorioufly, that he may be a Light in this

(7) *Ceteris mortalibus, in eo ſtare conſilia, quid ſibi conducere putent, Principum diverſam eſſe ſortem, quibus præcipua rerum ad famam dirigenda.* Tac. 4. Ann. (8) *Argentum quidem, & pecunia eſt communis omnium poſſeſſio, at honeſtum, & ex eo laus, & gloria Deorum eſt ac eorum, qui à diis proximi cenſentur.* Polybius.

World

World (9). All other things will come with eaſe, but Fame not without Aſſiduity and Application (10). But if in the beginning of his Reign he loſes his Reputation, he will very difficultly recover it; for what the People once conceive of him, they will never afterwards forget. He, who ſets too great a value upon Life, avoids Toils and Dangers, without which two, Honour can never be attained. This *Tacitus* obſerved in King *Marabodo*, who quitting his Kingdom, lazily and ſhamefully ſpent his Days in *Italy*, loſing much of his Reputation through a too fond deſire of Life (11). Let a Prince ſo ſteer his Courſe, be the Sea Calm or Tempeſtuous, as ſtill to keep his Eye upon that ſhining Beacon of Glory; ever and anon calling to mind (that he may admit, or think of nothing unworthy himſelf) that Hiſtory will publiſh his Fame, his Exploits and Glorious Atchievements to all Ages, and to all Nations. Princes have no other Superior than God, and Fame; they alone by the fear of Puniſhment and Infamy oblige them to Act honourably; for which reaſon they often fear Hiſtorians more than their Enemies, and are more aw'd by the Pen than the Sword. King *Balthaſar*, though he ſaw only the Hand and Pen, as yet not knowing what they would write, was ſo diſorder'd, *That he quaked all over, and the Joints of his Back were looſened* (12). But if they neither regard God nor Glory, nothing Glorious or Honourable can be expected. For who e're ſlights Honour, deſpiſes Virtue. A generous deſire of Glory avoids the blemiſh of Vice or Injuſtice. Nor is there a more Savage Brute than that Prince, who is neither moved by remorſe of Conſcience, or deſire of Glory. Nor is there, nevertheleſs, no danger in Glory; for its brightneſs often dazles Princes, and leads them headlong into

(9) Let your Light ſo ſhine before Men, that they may ſee your good Works, *Matth.* 5. 12. (10) *Cateris Principibus ſtatim adeſſe: unum inſatiabiliter parandum, proſperam ſui memoriam.* Tac. 4. Ann. (11) *Conſenuitque, multum immutatâ claritate, ob nimiam vivendi cupiditatem.* Tac. 2. Ann. (12) Dan. 5. 6.

Raſhneſs and Temerity. That which ſeems Honourable and Glorious to them, is Vanity or Folly, ſometimes Pride or Envy, and oftentimes Ambition and mere Tyranny. They propoſe great matters, egg'd on by the Flatteries of their Miniſters, who ſet before them many things under the appearance of Glory, concealing in the mean time the unjuſt and inconvenient Means by which they are to be attained; by which being ſeduced, they oftentimes find themſelves deluded and ruined.

That Glory is ſafe which ſprings from a generous Spirit, and keeps within the Bounds of Reaſon and Poſſibility. Since therefore Honour and Infamy are the ſtrongeſt Excitements to good Actions, and that both are by Hiſtory delivered down to Poſterity; 'twould be convenient by Rewards propoſed to excite Hiſtorians to write, and to countenance Typography, the true Treaſury of Glory, where the Rewards of great Actions are depoſited to future Ages.

EMBLEM XVI.

'TIS an old saying, *Purple is to be judged by Purple*; by which the Ancients signified, that things were then best distinguished, when one was compared with the other, especially if they were such as could not easily be distinguish'd by themselves. Thus Merchants do, who compare Colour to Colour, that they may shew each other, and that a surer Judgment may be given of both. In the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, there was a Cloak (a Present of some King from *Persia*) of such an excellent Grain, that the Robes of the *Roman* Ladies, nay, even of the Emperor *Aurelian* himself, compared with it, look'd as faint as Ashes. If your Royal Highness, when raised to the Crown, would examine, and know the true worth of the Royal Purple, expose it not to the false Light of Flatterers and fawning

Knaves, for that will never ſhew you its true Colour: Nor rely too much upon ſelf-love, for that is like an Eye, that ſees all things but its ſelf. 'Twill be therefore neceſſary, that as Eyes are known by their own Species, like Forms repreſented in a Glaſs; ſo your Highneſs would compare the Luſtre of your Diadem to that of your Glorious Predeceſſors, ſeriouſly reflecting if any Virtues ſhine more bright in theirs than yours, by viewing your ſelf in them as in a Glaſs (1). Let your Highneſs, I ſay, compare your own Actions to thoſe of your Anceſtors, and you will eaſily ſee the difference between yours and theirs, that you may either give a true Colour to their Actions, or rejoyce in the Worth of your own, if in any thing you happen to have out-done your Predeceſſors. Let your Royal Highneſs therefore pleaſe to conſider, whether you Equal your Father in Courage, your Grandfather in Piety; *Philip* the Second, in Prudence; *Charles* the Fifth, in Greatneſs of Spirit; *Philip* the Firſt, in Affability; *Ferdinand* the Catholick, in Policy; in Liberality, that *Alphonſo*, who was Nick-named from his broken Hands; in Juſtice, King *Alphonſo* the Eleventh; and laſtly, King *Ferdinand* the Holy, in Religion: And that moreover, your Highneſs would be ſtir'd up by a generous Emulation, to a glorious Deſire of imitating theſe Great Men. *Quintus Maximus* and *Publius Scipio*, were uſed to ſay, that when e're they beheld the Images of their Anceſtors, their Souls were fired and excited on to Virtue: Not that they were moved by the meer Wax or Stone, but that comparing their own Actions to thoſe of others, they could not reſt till they equall'd them in Glory and Renown. Elogies inſcribed on Tombs, ſpeak not to the Dead, but to the Living: They are certain Summaries, which for Memory's ſake, the Virtue of the Predeceſſor leaves to the Succeſſor. *Mattathias* ſaid, That by calling to mind the Actions

(1) *Tanquam in ſpeculo ornare, & comparare vitam tuam ad alienas virtutes.* Plutarch.

of

of their Ancestors, his Sons should acquire present Glory and eternal Renown (2). For which Cause also, the High Priests, who were Princes of the People, wore upon their Breasts the Virtues of the Twelve Patriarchs, their Predecessors, engraven upon as many Stones (3). In effect, it becomes a Prince to vie with his Ancestors in Glory, not with his Inferiors, for 'tis no praise to excel them, and to be out-done by them, the greatest Scandal. The Emperor *Tiberius* observed as Law, all the Sayings and Exploits of *Augustus* (4). Moreover, let your Highness compare the Purple you wear at present, to that you wore formerly; for we are oftentimes desirous to forget what we have been, for fear of upbraiding our selves with what we are. Let your Highness consider, whether you are grown better or worse, for we find it often happens, that at the beginning of their Reigns, Princes minds are gloriously bent upon the Execution of their Office, in which afterwards they grow more remiss. Almost all begin their Reigns with Great and Glorious Spirits; but at last by degrees, either they sink under the Weight of Affairs, or grow Effeminate by Luxury and Ease, with which they easily suffer themselves to be taken, forgetting they are obliged to keep and preserve their once gotten Glory. This very thing *Tacitus* remarks in the Emperor *Tiberius*, that at last, after a long Experience in Affairs, he was altered and ruined by the mere force of Government (5). A long Reign creates Pride, and Pride the hatred of the People; as the same Author observes in King *Vannius* (6). Many begin

(2) Call to remembrance what Acts our Fathers did in their time, so shall ye receive great Honour, and an everlasting Name, 1 *Macc.* 2. 52. (3) And in the four Rows of Stones, was the Glory of the Fathers graven, *Wisd.* 8. 24. (4) *Qui omnia facta dictaque ejus vice legis observem.* Tac. 4. Ann. (5) *An cum Tiberius post tantum rerum experimentum vi dominationis convulsus, & mutatus sit.* Tac. 6. Ann. (6) *Prima Imperii ætate clarus acceptusque popularibus; mox diuturnitatem, in superbiam mutans, & odia accolarum simul domesticis discordiis concrementis.* Tac. 12. Ann.

their Reigns with extraordinary Modesty and Justice, but few continue so; because their Ministers are Flatterers, by whom they are taught to Act boldly and unjustly. As it happened to *Vespasian*, who in the beginning of his Reign was not so much bent upon Injustice, until by the Indulgence of Fortune and Advice of Evil Counsellors, he learnt it (7).

Let your Highness compare not only your own Virtues and Actions, but those of your Ancestors with one another, by confronting the Purple of some stain'd with Vices, to that of others glossy and shining with great and noble Actions: For Examples never move us more than when they are confronted one with another. Let your Highness compare the Royal Robe of King † *Hermenigildus*, with that of *Peter* the Second, King of *Arragon*; one glittering with Stars, and died with Blood, which he had gloriously spilt in the War against *Leuvigildus*, his Father, who was infected with the *Arrian* Heresy; the other trampled under the Feet of Horses in a Battle at *Girone*, when he brought Succours to the *Albigenses* in *France*.

Let your Highness cast your Eyes back upon past Ages, and you will find *Spain* ruined by the licentious Lives of the Kings, *Witiza* and *Roderick*, but recovered again by the Piety and Courage of *Pelagius*. You'll see *Peter* deposed, and killed for his Cruelty; and his Brother, *Henry* the Second, advanced to the Crown for his singular Mildness. You'll see the Glorious Infant, *Ferdinand*, blessed by Heaven with many Kingdoms, for that he would not accept of that of his Grandson, King *John* the Second, although there were those who freely offered it him: On t'other side, the Infant *Sancho* accused by his own Father of Disobedience and Ingratude, before Pope *Martin* the Fourth, for that he would have usurped the Throne in his life-time. This

(7) *Ipso Vespasiano, inter initia Imperii ad obtinendas iniquitates haud perinde obstinato; donec, indulgentia fortunæ, & pravis Magistris, didicit, assuitque est.* Tac. 2. Hist. † Marian. Hist. Hisp.

Comparison

Comparison your Highness may follow as a sure Guide in the Management of your Affairs; for, though by Discourse and Conversation you may know the Lustre and Brightness of Heroick Exploits, as also the Baseness and Infamy of Ill Actions; yet all these move us not so much, considered in themselves, as in those Persons, whom they have made Glorious in the World, or Despicable.

EMBLEM XVII

A Tree bedeck'd with Trophies, is still a Trunk as afore; those which were an Honour to others, are but a burthen to it. So truly, the glorious Exploits of Ancestors are but a Shame and Disgrace to the Successor, unless he imitates the same. Nor does he inhe-

rit their Glory, but their Actions only, by an Imitation of which he will obtain the other. Juſt as light is reflected from a Diamond, becauſe it finds ſubſtance, but quickly pierces Glaſs which is thin and tranſparent; ſo if the Succeſſor be Stout and Brave, the Glory of his Predeceſſors adds yet a greater Luſtre and Brightneſs to him; but if like thin and paultry Glaſs, he can't withſtand the Luſtre, it ſerves only to diſcover his vile and abject Soul. The Actions of Anceſtors, which are only Examples to others, are Laws to the Succeſſor, for the whole Eſteem and Prerogative of Nobility is grounded upon this Suppoſition, that the Deſcendants will imitate the Actions of their Forefathers. He, who vainly boaſts of theſe without imitating them, only ſhews the difference between himſelf and them. No one is to be blamed for not equalizing the Actions of them to whom he bears no relation. For this Reaſon, the Nobility of *Rome* were wont to place before their Doors the Statues of the Illuſtrious Men of their Families, that they might ſhew to Poſterity what Obligation they lie under. *Bodiſlaus* the Fourth, King of *Poland*, always wore his Father's Picture in Gold about his Neck; and whenever any Affair of great conſequence was to be determined, he put it to his Mouth, and kiſſing on't, with Veneration us'd to ſay, *God grant I may never do any thing unworthy your Royal Name.* How many ſuch Medals of your Heroick Anceſtors might your Highneſs find? Which would never permit you to act any thing beneath their Royal Blood; nay, would rather encourage and excite you to out-do them in glorious Exploits? Now, if this Emulation of Anceſtors enflame the Minds of the Nobility, they certainly deſerve the principal Employments in the State. For as 'tis likely thoſe ſhould be beſt who proceed from the beſt (1); as alſo Preſumption and Experience teach, for Eagles hatch Eagles, and Lions beget Lions. And oft-times ſelf-worth and fear of Infamy ſtirs up noble

(1) *Par eſt meliores eſſe eos qui ex melioribus*, Ariſt.

Thoughts

Thoughts in the mind. Yet, I grant that this Rule holds not always good, either becauſe Nature can't do what ſhe would (2), or becauſe of ill Education and Effeminacy; or becauſe Mens Souls themſelves are not equally noble and generous, but act differently according to the Affection of the Body, in which they are as 'twere drowned. There are ſome too, who ſeem only to inherit the Trophies and Glory of their Anceſtors, without their Virtues, and are in all things wholly different from them. Of this we have an Example in the Eagles themſelves, who altho' they commonly breed Eagles; yet there are ſome, who think that Oſtriches are a certain Species of them, tho' wholly degenerate, having neither the generoſity, ſtrength, nor ſwiftneſs of an Eagle; this fine Bird being transformed into a loathſome dull Animal. 'Tis ſcarce credible how prejudicial 'tis to the Publick Good, without any diſcretion or regard to Merit, to elect only the Nobility into Publick Offices, as though the Experience and Virtue of Anceſtors ran in the Blood to Poſterity. Induſtry will languiſh, Virtue will grow ſluggiſh and lazy, if only grounded upon Nobility, which will look upon Rewards as its juſt due; nor will the hopes of obtaining, or the fear of loſing them, be a means to make them act honourably: Which very Argument *Tiberius* uſed to the Senate to perſwade them not to aſſiſt the Family of *M. Hortalus*, which tho' very Ancient, was fallen to Poverty (3). In time of Peace, indeed, Men of Great and Noble Families may be well preferred to Places of the greateſt Authority, in which the Splendor and Reputation of the Family is of great advantage. In Military Offices the caſe is alter'd, for theſe require activity and ſtrength both of Mind and Body: But if theſe are found in the Nobility, though not in altogether ſo

(2) *Nam ut ex homine hominem, ex bellis belluam, ſic ex bonis bonum generari putant; at hoc quidem natura ſæpè efficere vult, non tamen poteſt.* Ariſt. 1. Pol. c. 4. (3) *Langueſcet alioqui induſtria, intendetur ſecundia, ſi nullus ex ſe metus, aut ſpes, & ſecuri omnes aliena ſubſidia expectabunt, ſibi ignavi, nobis graves.* Tac. 2. Ann.

great

great Perfection as in others, the Merits of their Anceſtors, or the common Eſteem and Reſpect of Men will eaſily compenſate for the reſt, yet can they by no means ſupply an intire defect. For this reaſon *Tacitus* deſervedly ridiculed the Election of *Vitellius*, when he was ſent to Command the Legions of *Lower Germany*; not conſidering his Incapacity for ſuch an Office, it ſeem'd enough that he was the Son of *Vitellius*, who had been for three times Conſul (4). *Tiberius* acted not ſo in the beginning of his Reign, he conferr'd Honours reſpecting both the Nobility of the Family, the Excellency of the Perſon in the Art of War; as alſo his worth in time of Peace, that it might appear he did not without Reaſon prefer one before another (5). I grant that the Eſteem and Authority of Nobility may do much in War; but 'tis not that, but Bravery and Induſtry that routs the Enemy. The *Germans* formerly choſe their Kings for their Nobility, but their Generals for their Valour (6). Then Arms flouriſh when Valour and Virtue are in eſteem, and in poſſeſſion of the greateſt Poſts in the Army; in which they may either acquire Nobility, or enlarge and illuſtrate that which they have already. The hope of this furniſht paſt Ages with brave Heroick Generals; but where this is wanting, Art Military is neglected and ſlighted; for nothing but the Honour of Preferment in the Army can recompence the Inconveniences and Perils of War. Nor is it true as ſome ſuppoſe, that the greateſt Reſpect and Obedience is paid to thoſe of the nobleſt Families; for if they are not qualified with theſe two great Qualities, Conduct and Valour, all the deference paid to their Blood will be only meer Ceremony, not real Reſpect. The Heart values and admires only ſuch a Virtue and Greatneſs of Soul, as is the Maker of its own Fortune.

(4) *Cenſoris Vitellii ac ter Conſulis filius, id ſatis videbatur.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (5) *Mandabatque honores, nobilitatem majorum, claritudinem militiæ, illuſtres domi artes, ſpectando, ut ſatis conſtaret, non alios potuiſſe.* Tac. 4. Ann. (6) *Reges ex nobilitate, Duces ex virtute ſumunt.* Tac. de mor. Germ.

Columbus

Columbus gave Laws to the Ocean, and *Herman Cortez* to the New World; theſe, though they did not ſpring from Illuſtrious Families, yet did they procure a Nobility for their Poſterity, equal to thoſe of the greateſt Rank. The moſt noted Rivers take their riſe and beginning from the ſmalleſt Rivolets, and a little after take their Name and Glory from the Channel. In War, where Courage and Bravery are moſt eſteem'd, 'twill be expedient to promote thoſe to the higheſt Honours who have merited it by noble Exploits, though they are perhaps but of mean Extraction; yet, in time of Peace, 'twill be very dangerous for a Prince to commit the Government to mean and worthleſs Perſons; 'twill immediately incenſe the Noble and Brave againſt him for ſlighting and miſtruſting their Integrity (7). Which then chiefly happens, when the Subject is not endowed with good Natural Parts, not when he is cried up and admired by all, the obſcurity of Birth being ſufficiently brightned by the excellent Endowments of Mind. We ſee many, who ſeem to be born of themſelves, as *Tiberius* uſed to ſay of *Curtius Rufus* (8). To ſuch as theſe *Claudian*'s Praiſe of a good choice of Miniſters is well adapted.

Mirit, not Birth, he does prefer †;
Nor cares he whence, but what they are.

But if the Nobility be corrupted by Eaſe and Luxury, 'twere adviſeable to reform it by Rewards and Exerciſe, rather than to inſtitute an entire new ſet. Silver and Gold are eaſily purified and clean'd, but to make Gold out of Silver, is a vaſt labour beyond the Art of Chymiſtry to perform. *Henry* the Fourth, was therefore very ill adviſed by ſome to ruin all the Grandees of his Kingdom, and to promote thoſe of mean Fortune.

(7) *Si Remp. gnaris, & non magni pretii hominibus committas, ſtatim & nobiliam ac ſtrenuorum iram in te provocabis ob contemptam eorum fidem, & maximis in rebus damna patiens.* Dion. Caſſio. (8) *Videntur mihi ex ſe nati.* Tac. 11. Ann. † Claud.

Though

Though the Licentiouſneſs and Diſobedience of the Nobility may ſometimes require that it be a little humbled; for too much Greatneſs begets Pride, and an Averſion to Subjection and Obedience (9). The weakeſt always ſeek Juſtice and Equity, but the ſtronger trouble not themſelves with it (10); and the People are generally more quiet, when there are no Great Ones to protect them, and to foment their Innovations (11). For this reaſon, the Laws of *Caſtile* don't allow two Great and Noble Families to incorporate, that ſo the Eſtate might be more divided, and that it might not create Jealouſy and Envy among others (12). There are ways under the pretext of Honour and Favour to remedy exceſs of Riches, in giving opportunity of employing it to the Service of the Prince and People. But Prodigality and Luxury are now grown to that height, that there is no occaſion for ſuch means; for all the Nobility are ſo much ſtraitned by Debts, and neceſſary Expences, that they want means to execute ſuch Thoughts, or to attempt Innovation. While they would be great beyond what they can, they become even leſs than what they are. 'Tis certain, that the nobleſt and moſt renowned Families are ruined by a deſire of Grandure and Magnificence (13). But as too much Riches are dangerous, ſo alſo is extream Poverty. For when any of theſe Great Ones have ſquandred away their Eſtates, they preſently ſet up for Innovation (14).

(9) *Et revocante Nobilitate, cui in pace durius ſervitium eſt.* Tac. 11. Ann. (10) *Nam Imbecilliores ſemper equum, & juſtum quærunt, potentioribus autem id nihil curæ.* Ariſt. Pol. 6. C. 2. (11) *Nihil auſuram plebem principibus amotis.* Tac. 1. Ann. (12) *Commodum eſt etiam, ut hæreditates non donatione, ſed jure agnationis tradantur, utque ad eundem una, non plures hæreditates perveniant.* Ariſt. Pol. 5. c. 8. (13) *Dites olim familiæ nobilium, aut claritudine inſignes, ſtudio Magnificentiæ prolabebantur.* Tac. 3. Ann. (14) *Sed cum ex Primariis aliqui bona diſſipaſſent, hi res novas moliuntur.* Ariſt. Pol. 6. c. 12.

E M

EMBLEM XVIII.

VIRTUE has given Empire to many, Vice to few. In theſe the Scepter was a violent and dangerous Uſurpation, in thoſe a juſt Title and laſting Succeſſion. Virtue by a certain occult and ſecret Force, does as 'twere compel Men to love and admire it. The Elements obey the Heavens for the Perfection and Excellency of them; ſo Men too think none worthy the Sovereign Power, but thoſe of Sovereign Juſtice and Virtue. For which cauſe, *Cyrus* thought no one was fit to govern, but he who was better than thoſe he governed (1). Subjects pay more Reverence to a Prince, in whom they diſcern more than ordinary En-

(1) *Non cenſebat convenire cuiquam Imperium qui non melior eſſet iis quibus imperaret.* Xenoph. lib. 8.

dowments

dowments of Mind; the greater they are, the greater is their Reſpect and Eſteem, for all believe that to ſuch a Prince, God is more propitious and ready to aſſiſt him in all things, and to direct his Government. 'Tis this alone made *Joſhua*'s Name celebrated all the World over (2). All the Actions and Counſels of a good Prince the People receive with Joy, and through a certain zealous Confidence promiſe themſelves Succeſs from them; but if it fall out otherwiſe, they perſuade themſelves that for ſome ſupernatural and unknown Reaſons 'tis convenient it ſhould be ſo. For the ſame cauſe among ſome Nations, the High Prieſts were Kings (3), that the People receiving Holy Ceremonies and Divine Worſhip from them, might acknowledge in them a certain more ſublime Nature, more allied and familiar to God himſelf, which as a Mediatrix they might make uſe of in their Prayers, and againſt which they durſt not attempt any thing (4). The Crown upon *Aaron*'s Mitre attracted the Eyes and Deſires of all (5).

Jacob worſhipped *Joſeph*'s Scepter, on the top of which was a Stork, the Emblem of Piety and Religion (6).

Let none imagine that the time is loſt, which a Prince employs in the Exerciſe of Goodneſs and Virtue; nay, God does then chiefly diſpoſe and direct the Events of things. *Ferdinand Antoline* was at his Devotions, while Count *Garcias Fernandez* fought the Moors at the River *Duero*, and an Angel in his likeneſs ſupplied his place in the Fight, by which he not only eſcaped the

(2) So the Lord was with *Joſhua*, and his fame was noiſed throughout all the Country, *Joſh.* 6. 27. (3) *Rex enim Dux erat in bello, & Judex, & in iis quæ ad cultum Deorum pertinerent, ſummam poteſtatem habebat.* Ariſt. Pol. 3. 13. (4) *Minuſque inſidiantur iis, qui Deos auxiliares habent.* Ariſt. Polit. (5) He ſet a Crown of Gold upon the Mitre, wherein was engraved Holineſs, an ornament of Honour, a ſafety-work, the deſires of the Eyes goodly and beautiful. *Eccl.* 45. 12. (6) And he worſhipped leaning upon the top of his Staff. Vid. Lat. Verſ. *Et adoravit faſtigium virgæ ejus.* Heb. 11. 21.

diſcreet

diſcredit of not being at the Battel, but alſo gained the chieſeſt Praiſe of Honour of the Victory. Something like this is related of that Renowned General, Count *Tilly*, that true Chriſtian *Joſhua*, not leſs Holy and Religious, than Warlike and Brave, that while he was at Prayers, the Army was drawn up by another in his ſhape. The Emperor, *Ferdinand* the Second, had more Standards and Trophies preſented to him in the time of Divine Service, than many of his Anceſtors had gained from the Enemy (7). The *Iſraelites* ſtood ſtill, and God wrought Wonders for them (8). That Crown, which like *Ariadne*'s ſhines with refulgent Stars of Virtue, ſhall laſt to Eternity (9). The Emperor *Septimus* told his Sons as he was dying, *That he left them a firm and laſting Empire if they were good; if wicked, but of ſhort continuance.* King *Ferdinand*, who from his great Virtues, was ſirnamed the Great, did by theſe wonderfully increaſe the Glory of his Kingdom, and eſtabliſht it to Poſterity. His Piety was ſo great, that when the Body of St. *Iſidore* was carried by *Sevil*, he and his Sons, barefoot, carried theſe Holy Relicks from the River *Durio*, quite to St. *John*'s Church in the City. For 'tis God by whom Kings Reign, and upon whom all their Power and Felicity depends; they could never err, if they would make him their only Object. The Rays of the Sun never forſake the Moon; ſhe, as if ſhe knew ſhe received all her Light from the Sun, looks on him continually, that ſhe may be enlightned by him; which Princes muſt ſo imitate, that they may always have their Eyes fixt upon that Eternal Light, which affords Light and Motion to the World, and from which Empires take their encreaſe and decreaſe, as is intimated in the preſent Emblem by the Scepter,

(7) Fear ye not, ſtand ſtill, and ſee the Salvation of the Lord, which he will ſhew you to day, *Exod.* 14. 13. (8) And the Lord God of *Iſrael* fought for *Iſrael*, *Joſh.* 10. 42. (9) And that turn not aſide from the Commandment, to the right, or to the left; to the end that he may prolong his days in his Kingdom, he and his Children in the midſt of *Iſrael*, *Deut.* 17. 20.

on

on the top of which is the Moon looking towards the Sun, the true Emblem of God, as well becauſe no other thing comes nearer his Omnipotency; as alſo, becauſe that alone gives Light and Being to all.

Which 'cauſe it ſolely all Surveys,
Is properly call'd Sol. Boet.

For *there is no Power but from God* (10). Kings are crowned in his Eternal Mind before they are here on Earth. He, who gave the Orbs Cœleſtial firſt motion, gives it alſo to Empires and Republicks. He, who has appointed a King over Bees, has not left meerly to Chance or Humane Choice, theſe Second Cauſes of Princes, who are his Vice-Roys upon Earth, and as like him as may be (11), being repreſented in the Revelations by thoſe Seven Planets, which God held in his Hand (12); upon them he darts his Divine Rays, the Reflection of which gives them the utmoſt Power and Authority over their Subjects. Without that Splendor, all Power, how great ſoever, is in a manner dark; the Prince who ſlighting this Light, ſhall follow another, an appearance may be of ſome good, which his own convenience, not right reaſon offers, will ſoon ſee the Orb of his Power eclips'd and darken'd. What e'er avoids the Sun, muſt neceſſarily be in darkneſs. The Moon, although it finds its ſelf oft'times quite dark, does not therefore turn away from the Sun, but looks on't with ſo much the more eagerneſs, till at laſt 'tis again enlightned by it. Let a Prince hold his Scepter fixt and ſteady, having always a regard to Virtue, as well in Proſperity as Adverſity: For the ſame Divine Sun, which either for Puniſhment or Exerciſe of his Virtues, permitted his decreaſe, as a recompence of his Conſtancy will again promote and encreaſe his great-

(10) Rom. 13. 1. (11) *Principes quidem inſtar deorum eſſe.* Tac. 3. Ann. (12) And he had in his right hand ſeven Stars, *Revel.* 1. 16.

neſs

neſs. Thus 'twas with the Emperor, *Ferdinand* the II. who was often reduced to that extremity of Fortune, that his Empire and Life too ſeem'd deſperate. Yet he was reſolved never wholly to deſpair, nor to turn his Eyes from that Eternal Sun, the Maker and Governor of all things, whoſe Divine Providence freed him from all Perils, and advanced him far above all his Enemies. *Moſes*'s Rod, which was the Emblem of a Scepter, did Wonders whilſt he held it in his Hand upright t'wards Heaven; but as ſoon as he caſt it upon the Ground, 'twas turn'd into a venomous Serpent, dreadful even to *Moſes* himſelf (13). Whilſt the Scepter, like *Jacob*'s Ladder, touches Heaven, God himſelf ſupports it, and Angels deſcend to its aſſiſtance (14). This the *Egyptians* knew, who on the top of their Scepters were uſed to engrave the Head of a Stork, a Religious Bird, and Pious t'wards its Parents; but on the bottom, the Foot of a Sea-Horſe, an impious and ungrateful Animal, which Plots to kill his Father, that he may the more freely enjoy his Mother. By which Hieroglyphick they meant nothing, but that Princes ought always to prefer Piety to Impiety. *Machiavel* would have his Prince to learn this Hieroglyphick, but in quite another Sence, for he would have Piety and Impiety placed at each end, that he might turn it as he pleaſed, and hold that upwards which tended moſt to his Preſervation and Advantage. For which reaſon, he thinks 'tis not neceſſary for a Prince to be Virtuous, 'tis enough if he pretends to be ſo; for to be really ſo, and to act according to the Dictates of Virtue, would, he ſays, be pernicious; but that 'tis moſt advantageous to be thought ſo; for by this means he will be ſo diſpoſed, as to know how to ſhift upon occaſion, and to act in all things as advantage or opportunity ſhall require: And

(13) And he caſt it on the ground, and it became a Serpent, and *Moſes* fled from before it, *Exod.* 4. 3. (14) And he dreamed, and behold, a Ladder ſet upon the Earth, and the top of it reached to Heaven; and behold, the Angels of God aſcending and deſcending on it. *Gen.* 28. 12.

this, he says, is principally necessary for Princes newly come to the Crown, who ought to be quick and ready to spread their Sails to every breath of Fortune, and as necessity requires. Impious and foolish Counsel, that would insinuate that Virtues need not be real and genuine, but only counterfeit and imaginary, for how can the Shadow be as effective as the Substance? What Art or Pains can bring Chrystal to that perfection, as it shall equal the Diamond in lustre and brightness? Won't any one at first sight discover and laugh at the Cheat. A true Glory takes root and flourishes, that which is not, falls like Blossoms; nor can any thing be lasting that is counterfeit (15). There's no Art or Cunning so great, as to make a vicious Inclination appear truly good and virtuous. For if we so easily fail in real Virtues so agreeable to our Nature and Inclination, what shall we do in false and imaginary ones? How will the Subjects, when they discover the Cheat, be able to endure the Stench of this Sepulchre of abominable Vices, without any ornament of Goodness? How can they turn their Eyes from that inward Wound, when the Patch under which it lurk'd being drawn off, 'tis openly exposed to the sight of all (16)? Whence a Prince will be contemptible and ridiculous to his own People at home, and suspected by Foreigners abroad. He will be surely odious to both, for neither can live securely under him. Nothing renders Tyranny more grievous than when the Prince dissembles Virtue. For from thence oft-times greater Vices spring, for this Reason many were afraid of *Otho*, when he stood Candidate for the Empire (17). When a Prince is known to be wicked and vicious, 'tis easy to beware

(15) *Vera gloria radices agit, atque etiam propagatur; ficta omnia celeriter tanquam flosculi decidunt, neque simulatum quidquam potest diuturnum.* Cic. lib. 2. de Off. cap. 32. (16) And all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags, *Isaiah* 64. 6. (17) *Otho interim, contra spem omnium, non deliciis, neque desidia torpescere, dilata voluptates, & dissimulata luxuria, & cuncta ad decorem imperii composita, eoque plus formidinis afferebantur falsæ virtutes, & vitia reditura.* Tac. 1. Hist.

of him, but not ſo when he diſſembles. Open Vice may be imputed to frailty of Nature; but pretended Virtue is only Cheat and Deſign; not accidental, but premeditated Injuſtice; ſo that 'tis more pernicious than open Vice. As *Tacitus* remarks in *Sejanus* (18), there is no greater Villainy, than under pretence of Virtue to exerciſe Vice (19). 'Tis a certain weakneſs to be openly wicked, but to counterfeit Virtue is true Villainy. Men more eaſily diſpence with other Vices, but all loath Hypocriſy; for by them we only deceive our ſelves, but by this, others too. Nay, good Actions are deſpiſed if artificial, and not the Product of Virtue. *Vitellius* did many things to curry favour with the People, but thoſe things which would have been really acceptable, had they proceeded from a Principle of Virtue, were (by the memory of his former Courſe of Life, and becauſe every one ſaw that they were feigned and forced) look'd upon as baſe and vile (20). And, pray, who would diſſemble Virtue, if it coſt the ſame pains to do ſo, as to be really virtuous? If Virtues themſelves, by reaſon of the wickedneſs of Manners, have ſcarce ſtrength and power to ſubſiſt, how then ſhould the falſe and counterfeit? Who e'er puts more confidence in theſe Tricks than in Divine Providence, denies that he receives his Crown and Preſervation from God, and that he is the Diſpoſer of Rewards and Puniſhments. If a Prince's Vices proceed from Weakneſs, and not from Affection, 'tis beſt to conceal them, that they may not give ill Examples; for to conceal them on that account, ought not to be accounted Hypocriſy, or a deſign to Cheat others, but rather Prudence, and an Eſteem and Reſpect due to Virtue. There's no curb or reſtraint to that Power which does not veil its Tyrannies with ſome pretence or other. The Senators

(18) *Haud minus noxia, quoties, parando regni finguntur.* Tac. 4. Ann. (19) *Extrema eſt perverſitas, cum proſus juſtitia vacet, ad id niti, ut vir bonus eſſe videaris.* Plat. (20) *Quæ grata ſane & popularia, ſi à virtutibus proficiſcerentur; memoria vitæ prioris, indecora, & vilia accipiebantur.* Tac. 2. Hiſt.

never feared *Tiberius*, more than when they saw him without Dissimulation (21). Yet *Tacitus* writes of *Piso*, that he was cried up by the People for Virtues, or something resembling them (22). I don't mean by this, that Virtues are the same in a Prince, whether feigned or real; but that the People are sometimes deceived, and take Hypocrisy for Virtue. Therefore how much more firm and lasting would *Piso*'s Fame have been, had it been supported by real and solid Virtues. The same inconveniences arise if a Prince is possest of real Virtues, but such as he will easily change for his conveniency; for that cannot be Virtue, which is not a firm and constant habit of the Mind, nor will it inhabit such a Breast with fears, not upon any prospect of advantage to turn it into Vice, and joyn with Villainy. And how can this ever be convenient for a Prince?

And what Case or Circumstance can require it, especially in these our times, when Rule and Empire are established upon sure Laws; not depending as in the *Roman*'s time, upon the Election and Insolence of the Soldiers. No danger can be so great, that a Prince by prudent Virtue may not avoid without having recourse to Vice. If at any time a Prince renown'd for Virtues be vanquished, 'tis not because he was good, but because he knew not enough how to be good. A Just Prince is not obliged hastily and rashly to confront and oppose Vice, where there is no prospect of Advantage, but certain and manifest Danger from this over-diligence; nay, 'tis a piece of great prudence to permit and suffer that quietly, which by Opposition can't be prevented (23). Let him dissemble the knowledge of their Vices, till he finds a convenient time to remedy

(21) *Penetrabat Pavor, & admiratio, callidum olim, & tegendi scelera obscurum, huc confidentiæ venisse, ut tanquam dimotis paritibus ostenderet Nepotem sub verbere Centurionis, inter servorum illius, extrema vitæ alimenta frustra orantem.* Tac. 6. Ann. (22) *Claro apud vulgum rumore erat per virtutem, aut species virtutibus similes.* Tac. 15. Ann. (23) *Permittimus, quod nolentes indulgemus, quia pravam hominum voluntatem ad plenum cohibere non possumus.* S. Chrysost.

them;

them; and in the mean time reward the Good, and puniſh the Bad, and uſe ſuch other means as prudence ſhall ſuggeſt; but if theſe are not ſufficient, let him leave it to his Succeſſor, as *Tiberius* did, when he ſaw he could not reform the Manners of his time (24). For if through fear, a Prince ſhould by doing ill conform himſelf to the Life and Manners of ill Men, he would not only not bring them into the way of Virtue, but would at the ſame time miſlead the Good, ſo that both would grow worſe; Virtue in a Prince is never dangerous, but raſh Zeal and Severity often is. Villains don't hate a Prince for being good, but, becauſe, for his too ſtrict Severity they can't be wicked and lewd. There's no body but deſires a Juſt Prince; the worſt have need of ſuch a one, that Juſtice may flouriſh, by which they may live not only ſecure from others, but from one another too. This *Seneca* meant, when, that he might perſwade *Nero* from inceſtuous Converſation with his Mother, he threatned him that the Inceſt was divulg'd by his Mother, who gloried in't, and the Soldiers would not endure ſo vicious a Prince (25). Nay, ſo neceſſary are Virtues to a Prince, that without ſome Vices themſelves can't ſubſiſt. Nor did *Sejanus* endear himſelf to *Tiberius* by other means, than by mingling Virtues with Vices (26). Such a mixture of Virtues and Vices one might ſee in *Lucinius Mucianus*; in *Veſpaſian* alſo, there were many notable Vices as well as Virtues (27). This is certain, *Sejanus*'s favour with *Tiberius* had been much more ſecure; and *Veſpaſian* and *Mucian*, had been much more accompliſhed Princes, if ſubſtracting their Vices, their Virtues only had re-

(24) *Non id tempus cenſuræ, nec ſi quid in moribus laboret defuturum corrigendi authorem.* Tac. 2. Ann. (25) *Pervulgatum eſſe inceſtum, gliriante matre, nec toleraturos milites profani Principis Imperium.* Tac. 14. Ann. (26) *Corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax, ſui obtegens, in alios criminator, juſta adulatio, & ſuperbia, palam compoſitus pudor, intus ſumma adipiſcendi libido, ejuſque cauſa, modo largitio, & luxus, ſæpius induſtria, & vigilantia.* Tac. 4. Ann. (27) *Ambiguæ de Veſpaſiano fama.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

mained (28). If it be convenient for a Prince to be vicious, that he may diſtinguiſh the good from the bad, 'twill be ſufficient only to know how to be ſo, without being practically ſo. Let him therefore be virtuous, but let him be ſo circumſpect and prudent, that no Cheat or Knavery may ſcape him, no Villany but which he may ſee through; ſo by throughly obſerving each Man's Manners, and way of Life, he may Govern them the better. And in this Senſe may their Opinions be taken, who think that Princes are ſo much the more ſecure, by how much they are more wicked than their Subjects (29). This ſort of Vice relating to the knowledge of wickedneſs, is very expedient to know how to chaſtiſe, and alſo to bear with humane Frailties: Without that knowledge, ſevere Virtue is too rigid and dangerous for Government. Whence 'tis, that in a Prince manly Virtues are moſt requiſite, ſuch as are appropriated to Empire, not thoſe monaſtick Melancholy ones, which make him timorous, ſlow, and unſteady in his Reſolutions, averſe to Humane Converſation, and more intent upon his own private Perfections than the Government of the Publick. The greateſt Perfection in a Prince, is to anſwer the Obligations laid upon him by God Almighty.

Machiavel would not have a Prince counterfeit Virtues at certain times only, but he endeavours alſo to eſtabliſh a ſort of Policy upon Vice, by ſhewing how by help of this, the other may be advanced to the higheſt pitch; and by aſſerting that Men are ruined, becauſe they know not how to be wicked; as if there might be a certain Science to be form'd of it. This Doctrine has made many Princes Tyrants, and ruined them. Men are not ruin'd, becauſe they know not how to be wicked, but becauſe wickedneſs it ſelf can't long defend its ſelf; for there is no Villainy ſo cunning

(28) *Egregium Principatus temperamentum, ſi demptis virtutibus vitiiſque vitiis ſola virtutes miſceretur.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (29) *Eo Munitiores Reges cenſentur, quo illis, quibus imperitant, nequiores.* Saluſt.

and

and cautious, as to prevent its self from being caught at last in its own Snares. What skill can instruct a Man to keep a sound Judgment in his Vices, whose Sins trouble his Conscience, which though 'tis in us, yet by a certain Divine Impulse operates without us, being both Judge and Executioner of our Actions: whose Tyranny *Nero* felt after he had commanded his Mother to be kill'd, fearing that the Light which gave Life to others, brought his Death (30). The most resolv'd Spirit sometimes hesitates, and is confounded at the sight of Villainy: So it happened to *Sejanus*, when he plotted to extinguish the Family of *Tiberius*; he was confounded by the greatness of the Crime(31). *God taketh the wise in their own craftiness* (32). Vice is ignorance, opposed to Prudence; 'tis a Violence that toils to its own Ruin; 'tis a dangerous Building which falls upon his Head who built it. No Judgment is so great as to correct lesser Tyrannies by greater; and to what a vast Bulk might Men raise it? That very Example of *John Pagola* of *Peru*, which *Machiavel* makes use of to confirm his Assertion, makes it evident enough how dangerous 'tis to walk upon those Precipices, when though he had procured the Death of Pope *Julius* the Second, he could by no means accomplish his Villainy. The same also befel D. *Valentine*, whom he proposes as an Idea as 'twere to Princes; for he, that he might upon the Death of Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, secure his own Affairs, drank to some of the Cardinals of the contrary Faction in a Bowl of Poison, but the Cups being by mistake changed, he and *Alexander* drank the Poison, upon which the Pope died suddenly, and *Valentine* was so ill upon't, that he could not be present at the Conclave, (which mischance all his cunning could not foresee and prevent) whence it happen'd too, that

(30) *Sed à Cæsare profecto demum sceleris magnitudo intellecta est; reliquo noctis, modo persæpius pavore exurgens, & mentis inops operiebatur, tanquam exitium allaturam.* Tac. 14. Ann. (31) *Sed magnitudo facinoris metum, prolationes, diversa interdum consilia adferebat.* Tac. 4. Ann. (32) Job 5. 13.

whom he desired was not elected, and he himself lost all that he unjustly possessed in *Romania*. Divine Providence does not permit Tyrants to thrive in their Designs (33); 'Tis Virtue only that has the Power to make God propitious to us, not wickedness. If any Tyrant has long enjoy'd his unjust Usurpations, 'tis the effect of some eminent Virtue or Natural Endowment, which hides his Vices, and makes him obey'd by the People. But Malice ascribes this to tyrannical Artifices, and from Examples of that Nature, picks out some impious and erroneous Maxims of State, to the ruin both of Princes and Empires. Besides, all don't Reign, who have the Scepter in their Hands, or the Crown upon their Heads; for Divine Justice, though it leaves them the Kingdom, takes away the Command, by permitting them to be Slaves to their Passions, and their Ministers, and to be oppressed by Misfortunes and Seditions. So was *Samuel*'s Prediction to *Saul* fulfilled, that as a Punishment for having disobeyed God, he should be no more King (34): For though he lived and died King, yet was his Reign but perfect Slavery.

(33) He disappointeth the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot perform their enterprise, *Job* 5. 12. (34) Because thou hast rejected the Lord, he has also rejected thee from being King, 1 *Sam.* 15. 23.

EMBLEM XIX.

IN the Games of *Vulcan* and *Prometheus*, ſeveral Perſons being placed in a Row imployed themſelves thus: The firſt came out with a lighted Torch in his Hand, which he gave to the ſecond, and he to the third, and ſo from one to t'other; whence came the Proverb, *Curſu lampada trado*; apply'd to thoſe things which paſt as 'twere by Succeſſion from one to another. In which Senſe *Lucretius*,

Et quaſi curſores vitai Lampada trado.

Which he ſeems to have borrowed from *Plato*, when perſwading Men to Propagation, he ſays 'tis neceſſary, that Life which Men received from their Predeceſſors, they ſhould like a flaming Torch deliver down to Poſterity.

ſterity (1). What elſe is a Scepter, but ſuch a Torch as this, which paſſes by Succeſſion from one to another? What is it therefore that Majeſty aſſumes to its ſelf in this ſo ſhort and tranſitory Greatneſs? Many things are common to a Prince with other Men, there's but one thing, and that accidental too, which makes the difference. All thoſe don't humble his Mind, yet does this ſingle accident puff him up above others. Let him think that he is a Man, and that he governs Men; let him conſider well that he comes upon this great Theatre of the World to act the part of a Prince; and that he having his diſcharge, another ſhall ſucceed to thoſe Robes which he ſhall leave; and that of both of them only this will remain, that they once were. Laſtly, Let him know that theſe Robes wherewith he is cloathed, are not his own, but the States, which that only lends him, that he may be a while its Head, and may conſult for the Preſervation, Increaſe, and Proſperity thereof, as we have ſaid before.

When therefore a Prince has once begun to run the Race of this Life, furniſhed with the lighted Torch of his State; let it not be his only buſineſs to prolong his Race, for the Goal is already fixt beyond which he can't go; and who knows but that he may be now very near it, the Flame being expoſed to every blaſt of Wind. One ſingle Gale wrenched it from the Hands of King *Henry* the Firſt, er'e he was fourteen Years old. Alſo a fall from a Horſe prevented Prince *John*, Son of their moſt Catholick Majeſties from taking hold on't.

Let a Prince conſider alſo the fitneſs of his hand, the occaſion and right, that he mayn't raſhly graſp at more of theſe Torches, than either Succeſſion or lawful Election ſhall grant him. Had *Frederick*, Count *Palatine*, conſidered this, he had never loſt his Electoral Dignity, his Places, and Titles ſo unfortunately,

(1) *Ut vitam, quam ipſi à majoribus, accepiſſent, vicißim, quaſi tadam ardentem poſteris tradant.* Plato.

for

for being ambitious of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*. And truly *Charles*, King of *Naples*, had ended his Race more successfully, had he been contented with the Torch of his own Kingdom, and not attempted to grasp at that of *Hungary*, where he was therefore poisoned.

Let not a Prince too readily trust his Torch to another, nor suffer any one to touch it with so great Authority. For Empire admits of no Companion. The Infant *Sancho* attempted to snatch this Torch from his Father, King *Alphonso* the Wise, by the same Power and Authority which he receiv'd from him. Nor were there wanting Pretences for the Infant of *Portugal*, to attempt the same against his Father, *Dionysius*.

These Torches of Kingdoms lighted by ill Methods, are commonly soon extinguish'd, for no Power acquired by wickedness is lasting. King *Garcias* forc'd his Father, *Alphonso*, to quit his Kingdom, but could not enjoy the Crown so gotten above three Years. *Fruela* the Third, possess'd but fourteen Months the Kingdom which he had attain'd rather by Force than Election. Violent Counsels h'an't always their desired Success. *Ramon* hop'd certainly to inherit the Throne of *Navarre*, if he could make away with his Brother *Sancho*; but the People abhorr'd him who had conceiv'd such a horrid Villainy, and so offer'd it to *Sancho*, King of *Arragon*, his Uncle.

Let not a Prince unadvisedly trust his Torch out of his own Hands in his Life-time, least, if he should afterwards repent, it should befal him, as it did King *Alphonso* the Fourth, who having once resign'd his Kingdom to his Brother *Ramiro*, could never afterwards retrieve it, though he desir'd it. Ambition while in Possession regards not Justice, having always Arguments and Pretences at hand to defend it self. And who will not be mov'd by the difference between commanding and obeying.

Though these Torches do pass from Father to Son, yet let Kings remember that they receive them from God,

God, and that when he pleaſes they are to Surrender them to him, that they may know to whoſe Gift they ought to aſcribe them, and how ſtrict an Account they are to give of them. This King *Ferdinand* the Great did, who with his laſt Breath pronounc'd theſe Words, *Thine, O Lord, is Power, Empire is thine; Thou art Supream King of Kings; all things are under thy Providence. The Kingdom which from thy Hand I receiv'd, unto thee I reſign.* The ſame Words did King *Ferdinand* the Holy, uſe at the point of Death.

'Tis a glorious, though laborious Race which Heaven has deſign'd for your Royal Highneſs, which muſt be run not with one, but with ſeveral Torches of ſhining Diadems, which like the Sun, but without ever leaving us in the dark, will diffuſe their extended Light from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*. Furious Winds riſing from each part of the Horizon, will perhaps threaten them; but ſince God has lighted them to preceed the Standard of the Croſs, and to give light upon the Holy Altars of the Church, it may well be hop'd that theſe may ſhine like that (2); eſpecially if your Highneſs's Faith and Holy Zeal, would by holding them upright, make their Flame burn more clear and bright, its natural tendency being towards Heaven; and he who holds them obliquely, will make the Flame its ſelf feed upon and waſt them, but he who turns 'em directly downwards, oppoſite to Heaven, will immediately extinguiſh them; for the Matter which would elſe nouriſh them, will then extinguiſh them. Let your Highneſs therefore take care with theſe Lights to finiſh your Courſe with Glory, and Surrender them bright and flaming to your Succeſſor, not meerly ſuch as you receiv'd them, but illuſtrated and augmented with new Rays: For God weighs both Kingdoms and Kings when they begin to Reign, that he may afterwards require a juſt Account

(2) I will alſo give thee for a light to the *Gentiles*, that thou maiſt be my Salvation to the end of the Earth, *Iſaiah* 49. 6.

from

from them; thus he did with King *Balthazar* (3). And if *Otho* thoguht himself oblig'd to deliver up the Empire to Posterity, such as he had receiv'd it from his Ancestors (4); your Highness must acknowledge no less an Obligation deriv'd to you from your glorious Predecessors. So the Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, resign'd his while he was yet living, to his Son *Philip* the Second: And though the wickedness of some can't attend the end of their Career, for fear of adverse Winds already rais'd, as was the Case of *Alphonso*, King of *Naples*, who seeing he could not resist *Charles* the Eighth of *France*, surrendred the Crown to his Son *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Calabria*; yet certain 'tis, that his design was to make a timely Restitution of his Crown to God, and prepare himself for another, not Temporal but Eternal one, which once obtain'd may be securely enjoy'd without fear of ever being lost.

(3) Thou art weigh'd in the balance, and found wanting, *Dan.* 5. 27.
(4) *Urbi nostræ institutum, & à Regibus usque ad Principes continuum, & immortalem, sicut à Majoribus accepimus, sic posteris tradamus.* Tac. 1. Hist.

EMBLEM XX.

AMONG the Ceremonies of the *Athenians* at their Marriages, a certain little Boy, with a Basket of Bread in his Hand, and a Crown of Thorns upon his Head, went before the Bridegroom; by which, I believe, they intimated that Matrimony was not inſtituted for Pleaſure only, but alſo for Cares and Labours. By the ſame (if Emblems will admit Human Figures) might alſo be meant a Prince. For what thorny Cares does not he feel, who endeavours to maintain his State in Juſtice, Peace, and Plenty. What Difficulties does he experience? What Dangers is he liable to, who commands others (1)? His Fatigues ſhould be the Peo-

(1) *Quam arduum, quam ſubjectum fortunæ regendi cuncta onus!* Tac. 1. Ann.

ples

ples Reſt, his Dangers their Security, his Vigilance their Sleep. But we have here repreſented the ſame thing by a Crown, fine, indeed, and charming to ſight, but within full of Thorns and Briars; with this Motto of *Seneca* the Tragedian.

Falſe good! What Cares doſt hide,
Under the appearance of a gay outſide?

Who viewing thoſe Pearls and Diamonds, and thoſe Flowers which adorn a Crown, would not fancy that the inſide was much more fair and beautiful; yet is there nothing but ſharp Thorns, which continually prick and ſcratch the Head and Breaſt? There is not a Pearl in a Crown, but which is Sweat; nor a Ruby, but which is Blood; nor a Diamond, without ſome aſperity or roughneſs; 'tis a Circumference without a Center of reſt, a perpetual Motion of Cares *; for this reaſon Kings anciently wore a Crown made like a Ship, to repreſent its Inconſtancy, Trouble, and Dangers †. This he well knew, who, when a Crown was offered him, laid it down, with theſe Words, *Let him take thee up, who does not know thee.* Inſtead of Crowns they at firſt us'd Fillets, not as a Badge of Majeſty, but only to bind and preſerve the Head (2). So heavy are the Cares of a Crown'd Head, that it had need to be fore-arm'd; for to Reign is nothing but three continual Sighs and Toils, in preſerving, acquiring, and loſing. Therefore did the Emperor, *Mark Anthony*, ſay, That *Empire was the greateſt of Troubles.* Princes are born to labours, let them therefore inure themſelves thereto. The Kings of *Perſia* had a Chamberlain, who wak'd them betimes in the Morning with theſe Words, *Ariſe, O King, to look after the Affairs of your Kingdom.* Some Princes now-a-days would not endure ſuch diſturbance, for they perſwade themſelves that Eaſe, Voluptuouſneſs,

* Strabo. † Valer. Max. (2) Let them ſet a fair Mitre upon his Head, *Zach.* 3. 5.

and

and Vices, are the Rewards of Princes, but that the Shame and Disgrace thereof belong to others. Whereas some Princes shamefully neglect their Duty, it is because (as we shall mention elsewhere) they take the Kingdom for their Inheritance and Propriety, which they may use as they please, and think that their Authority and Sovereign Power is subject to no Laws, but altogether free to act as it list; in which Flattery encourages them, insinuating that without that freedom and liberty of living, a Kingdom would be the worst of Slavery, more intolerable than the meanest Condition of Subjects. Whence resigning themselves to Luxury and Pleasure, their Strength and Spirits flag, and themselves become wholly unfit for Government. Hence, I believe, it is, that among so many Princes, there are so very few good Governors, not that they want Natural Parts, for in those they usually exceed others, as being born of better Blood; but because that through Ease and Luxury they don't make use of them; nor do their Courtiers suffer it, for they make their Fortunes with more ease under a negligent than careful Prince. The Remedy against these Inconveniencies consists chiefly in two Things; The first is, That a Prince, should from his Youth, as soon as he has the use of Reason, be accustomed to the Management of Affairs, even before the Death of his Predecessor; thus God did with *Joshua*. And if in Matters of Concern and Trust, it be not convenient, for Reasons which I shall shew in the last Emblem but one; yet in other things it is, that his Mind may be diverted from Debauchery. This made the *Roman* Senate introduce their Youth to their Consultations. By the benefit of this many Popes Nephews, though they have been admitted very young to the Administration of Affairs, have in a few years made experienc'd Statesmen. The other is, That those that are near the Prince, should dexterously endeavour to root out of his Mind certain vain Opinions of his Greatness, and let him know that 'tis the common Consent of all that gives Power and Authority to the Scepter,

Scepter, for Nature made no Kings. That his Purple is an Emblem of Blood, which he should be ready upon occasion to shed for the People (4); that it was not given to breed and nourish the Moths of Vices: That he is born a Prince by chance; that Virtue only is the proper good of Man; that his Dominion is Government, not absolute Power, and that his Vassals are Subjects not Slaves. This Document the Emperor *Claudius* gave to *Meherdatus*, King of *Persia* (5). Let them advise the Prince so to do by those whom he Governs, as he would be done to were he a Subject; so *Galba* instructed *Piso* when he adopted him his Son (6). No Prince was ever elected only to be so, but that being so he might be serviceable to the rest. King *Antigonus* considering this, advis'd his Son not to abuse his Power, not to be proud or use his Subjects ill, *Knowest thou not, my Son*, said he, *that our Kingdom is but a noble Slavery* (7). Upon this the Woman grounded her Answer to the Emperor *Rodolphus*, who telling her he was not at leasure to hear her: *Then*, says she, *you are no more Emperor.* Subjects are not born for the King, but the King for the Subjects. 'Twould be too hard a Bargain for them to sell all their Liberty to the King, if in return they could not promise themselves Justice and Protection from him, to which end they voluntarily submitted themselves to his Command. The *Romans* in their Triumphs were crown'd with their own Shields (8), made into the circular Form of a Crown, whence were introduc'd the Diadems of the Saints, who were Victorious against the Common Enemy. A Prince deserves not a Crown, unless also he use it as a Shield to ward the Stroaks of adverse Fortune from his

(4) *Consulares fasces, pratextum, curulemque sellam, nihil aliud, quam pompam funeris putent; claris insignibus velut insulis velatos ad mortem destinari.* Liv. 2. Hist. (5) *Ut non dominationem, & servos, sed rectorem & cives cogitaret.* Tac. 12 Ann. (6) *Cogitare quid aut nolueris sub alio Principe, aut volueris.* Tac. 1. Hist. (7) *An Ignoras, fili mi, nostrum Regnum esse nobilem servitutem?* (8) With favour wilt thou compass him as with a Shield, *Psalm* 5. 12.

Subjects. To Reign is rather an Office than a Dignity, an Authority of a Father over his Children (9); and if the Subjects find not that Fatherly Care and Affection in the Prince, they owe him no Respect or filial Obedience. King *Ferdinand* the Holy, look'd upon his Government as an Office, which consisted in protecting his Subjects, in administring Justice, in chastising Vice, and procuring the Enlargement of his Territories; not sparing any pains for its Advantage, and according to this he always acted. Princes are (as we shall observe elsewhere) like Mountains, as well because they are nearer the Favours of Heaven; as because they should receive all Injuries of the Weather upon themselves, being Depositaries of Ice and Snow, which melting, should flow thence, and water and refresh the droughty Fields and Valleys beneath, and by the Shade of their Bodies defend them from the scorching Heat of the Sun (10). For this reason, the Scriptures call Princes Giants (11), for they that are born to sustain the weight of Government, had need be of a more than ordinary Stature: They are Giants which must undergo Fatigues and Groans (as *Job* says) under the Waters (12), by which are meant People and Nations (13). They are the Corners which sustain the whole Fabrick of the State (14). A Prince, who believes he is not born to do this for his Subjects, and does not prepare himself to shelter them from the Injuries of the Weather, dwindles from a Mountain to a Valley; nay, 'tis unlawful for him whom Heaven has design'd to Govern others, to regard his own ease and quiet.

(9) *Ut enim gubernatio patrisfamilias est Regia quædam potestas domi; ita Regia potestas, est civitatis & gentis unius aut plurium quasi domestica quædam gubernatio.* Arist. Polit. 3. cap. 11. (10) For thou hast been a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in his distress; a refuge from the Storm, a shadow from the heat, *Isa.* 25. 4. (11) There were Giants in the Earth in those days; the same became mighty Men, *Gen.* 6. 4. (12) Vid. *Job* 26. 5. (13) And the Waters which thou sawest, where the Whore sitteth, are Peoples, and Multitudes, and Nations, and Tongues, *Revel.* 17. 15. (14) Vid. 1 *Sam.* 14. 38.

Wamba

Wamba being elected King of the *Goths*, and refuſing the Crown, a certain Captain with his drawn Sword threatned to ſtab him unleſs he accepted it; *Shall you alone*, ſays he to him, *oppoſe the Will of the whole Nation, and prefer your own Private Eaſe to the Publick Good?* For this reaſon, the States of *Guadalajara* would not ſuffer King *John* to reſign his Kingdom to his Son *Henry*, he being too young, and himſelf having a Conſtitution fit for Government. Hence 'tis evident, That Princes are a part of the Commonmwealth, and that they are in ſome meaſure ſubject to it, as Inſtruments of its Preſervation, ſo that their ſucceſs or misfortunes reſpect it; as *Tiberius* told his Sons (15). Thoſe who deſired *David* for their King, told him, *We are thy Bone and thy Fleſh* (16); intimating to him that he muſt with his own ſtrength ſupport them, and take upon himſelf all their Toils and Grievances.

A Prince ought alſo to be taught while he is young, to tame and govern the skittiſh Horſe of Government; for ſhould he let him have his Head, he would fall headlong with him: He ſhould uſe therefore the Bridle of Reaſon, the Reigns of Policy, the Whip of Juſtice, and the Spurs of Valour, keeping always faſt in the Stirrups of Prudence. He muſt not execute every thing that comes into his Mind, but only what is honourable and juſt, leaſt he ſhould tranſgreſs Piety, Reputation, Modeſty, or good Manners (17). Let not a Prince imagine that his Power is wholly abſolute, but ſubject by the publick Good and Intereſt of his State. Not immenſe, but limitted, and expos'd to many Caſualties; one blaſt of Wind diſſipated all *Philip* the Second's Naval Preparations againſt *England*.

Let the Prince alſo know, that his Authority is not ſo Sovereign, but that part of it remains in the Subject,

(15) *Ita nati eſtis ut bona malaque veſtra ad Remp. pertineant.* Tac. 4. Ann (16) 2 Sam. 5. 1. (17) *Facta quæ lædunt pietatem, exiſtimationem, verecundiam noſtram, & ut generaliter dixerim, contra bonos mores fiunt aut facere eos credendum eſt.* L. 15. F. de Condit. Inſtit.

which they either reſerv'd to themſelves from the beginning, or which Common Sence has ſince granted them for their defence againſt any Prince notoriouſly unjuſt and tyrannical. Good Princes are pleas'd at the Liberty of their Subjects; Tyrants only would be abſolute (18). The Safety and Preſervation of the Kingdom, depends upon the well-temper'd freedom of the People. 'Tis not that Prince who is moſt powerful, that is moſt ſecure, but he who is ſo with reaſon; nor is he leſs Sovereign who defends the juſt Rights and Privileges of his Subjects. 'Tis rather prudence to let them enjoy 'em freely, for they never derogate from the Authority of the Prince, but when he thinks his Honour affronted, and endeavours wholly to take 'em away. Let him be content to maintain his Crown by the ſame means his Anceſtors did. It ſeems to be this which God would admoniſh Princes of, (though in another Sence) by *Ezekiel* the Prophet (19), when he ſaid, bind the tire of thine Head to thee; if any one ſhall wear it too looſe, 'twill be very apt to fall off.

(18) *Quomodo peſſimis Imperatoribus ſine ſine dominationem, ita quamvis egregiis libertatis modum placere.* Tac. 4. Ann. (19) Bind the tire of thine Head upon thee. *Ezek.* 24. 17.

EMBLEM XXI.

JUstice is the Center from which the Circumference of a Crown is drawn. If we could live without one, there would be no need of t'other.

In former times all Princes Judges were,
And to see Justice done, was all their Care.

In the first Age there was no need of Punishment, for there were no Crimes; nor of Rewards, for Virtue and Glory were belov'd for their own sakes. But as the World grew older, Wickedness encreased with it, and made Virtue more reserv'd, which before liv'd freely and carelessly in the Fields. When Equality was laid aside, and Ambition and Force suppli'd the place of Modesty and Shame, then Government was also introduc'd.

duc'd. For Prudence urg'd by neceſſity, and Common Prudence oblig'd Men to Civil Society, that they might exerciſe Virtues, which Reaſon prompted them to, and make uſe of Speech which Nature gave them, that by revealing to one another the Senſe of their Minds, they might inform, aſſiſt, and defend each other (1). Society being thus by common Conſent eſtabliſh'd, there aroſe at the ſame time a certain Supream Power neceſſary to the Preſervation of its Parts, which by puniſhing Vice, and rewarding Virtue, might defend them in Peace and Juſtice. And becauſe this Authority could not be diffuſed through the whole Body, by reaſon of the Confuſion which would ariſe in the Execution thereof; and becauſe 'twas alſo neceſſary that ſome ſhould Command, and the reſt Obey, they quitted their Pretenſions to it, conferring it either upon one, few, or many, which are the three ſorts of Government; Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, and Democracy. The firſt of which was Monachy; for originally Men were govern'd by one in each Family; afterwards they choſe from among the People, one, who excell'd others in Goodneſs and Virtue, whoſe Hand, as his Authority encreas'd, they honour'd with a Scepter, and his Head with a Diadem, as a Badge of the Power and Sovereignty which they had conferr'd upon him, which ſhould principally conſiſt in Juſtice, by which he ſhould preſerve and defend his Subjects in Peace; ſo that without that there is no Order of Government (2), and all Kingly Authority ceaſes, as it happened in *Caſtile*, which was reduc'd to the Government of Judges, the Kings being excluded for the Injuſtice of *Ordonno* and *Fruela*.

This Juſtice could not be well adminiſter'd by the mere Law of Nature, without imminent Danger to the Commonwealth; for ſince 'tis defin'd to be a conſtant and

(1) *Sermo verò datus eſt homini, ad utile & inutile, ac proinde juſtum ac injuſtum declarandum.* Ariſt. Pol. 1. cap. 2. (2) *Nam Reſpub. nulla eſt, ubi leges non tenent Imperium.* Ariſt. Pol. 4. cap. 4.

perpetual

perpetual deſire of giving to every one their own (3), it would be very dangerous if it ſhould depend upon the Opinion and Judgment of the Prince, and not be written; nor can mere natural Reaſon, though free from Affections and Paſſions, give true Judgment in ſuch variety of Caſes as happen continually. So that 'twas neceſſary for States to arm themſelves with Laws, deduc'd from long uſe and experience, as well Penal as Diſtributive; theſe to puniſh faults, and thoſe to give every one his own. Penal Laws are repreſented by a Sword, the Emblem of Juſtice, as *Trajan* intimated, reaching a Sword to the Captain of his Guards, with theſe Words, *Take this, and if I govern well, uſe it for me, if not, againſt me.* Equally ſharp on both ſides, as well for the Rich as the Poor; not with one Edge blunt, and t'other ſharp; to ſpare one, and hurt another. Diſtributive Laws are repreſented by a Rule or Square, which meaſures indifferently the Actions and Rights of all (4). By this Rule of Juſtice things ought to be meaſured, not this Rule by things, as the *Lesbian* Rule was, which being made of Lead, eaſily adapted it ſelf to all ſhapes of the Stone. The Prince ought to give Life and Vigour to both. King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe ſaid, That a King was the Heart and Soul of the State. And in another place he ſays, That *Rex* a King is the ſame with *Regula* a Rule. *Rex* a King, and *Lex* a Law, differ but in one Letter; and what elſe is a King but the Speaking-law, and the Law but a dumb King; ſo much King that could it exert it ſelf it ſhould govern alone. Prudence has as it were divided the Power of Princes, and yet in their Perſons it remains whole, yet it has ſubtilly transferr'd part thereof to Paper, ſo that it has left Majeſty written and expos'd to the view of all, for the exerciſe of Juſtice, ſo that Juſtice and Chaſtiſement, by means of the Law, anticipating Crimes, the Sentence might not be aſcrib'd to the Will,

(3) For Juſtice is immortal, *Wiſd.* 1. 15. (4) *Legem ſcimus Juſti injuſtique regulam eſſe.* Seneca.

Paſſion, or Intereſt of the Prince, and that he might avoid the Odium of his Subjects. The Law is an excuſe for Rigour, a diſcountenancer of Favour, an inviſible Arm of the Prince, with which he holds the Reigns of the Government. There is no better way to make Authority reſpected and obeyed; for which reaſon the Law ſhould be punctually obſerv'd, nor ſhould force be us'd in any thing which may be decided by Law (5). When once a Prince proceeds that way, the Laws will ſoon loſe their force and efficacy (6): Crimes will be reckon'd Innocence, and Juſtice Tyranny (7): Nor is the Power of the Prince a little diminiſh'd, for that is ever more effectual with the Law than without it. 'Tis the Law that crowns, defends, and confirms a Prince (8), without it there would be no difference between Subjection and Command. True Policy is founded upon the Law, not upon Arbitrary Sway. They are the true Rule of Government, the Roads of Policy, by them as by certain Lines the Ship of the State ſails ſecurely; they are the Walls of Civil Power, the Eyes and Soul of the State, the Fetters of the Mob, and the Bridle (the preſent Emblem) which Guides and Curbs it (9). Even Tyranny it ſelf can't ſubſiſt without them.

The Determination of Juſtice could not be ſafely committed to the inconſtancy of the Will, which is ſubject to ſo many Affections and Paſſions, and of it ſelf perfectly blind; but it was neceſſary that it ſhould be reſtrain'd by certain fix'd Decrees and Statutes, founded upon Reaſon and Prudence, which ſhould without diſtinction be Obligatory to all. Such are the

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(5) *Nec utendum imperio, ubi legibus agi poſſit.* Tac. 3. Ann. (6) *Minui jura quotiès gliſcat poteſtas.* Tac. 3. Ann. (7) The work of righteouſneſs ſhall be peace, and the effect of righteouſneſs, quietneſs and aſſurance for ever, *Iſaiah* 32. 17. (8) *Inauditi atque defenſi tanquam innocentes peritant.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (9) *Facta ſunt autem leges, ut eorum metu humana coerceatur audacia, tutaque ſit inter improbos innocentia, & in ipſis improbis reformidato ſupplicio refrænetur audacia & nocendi facultas.* Iſid. lib. 2. Etymol. L. legibus, C. de leg.

Laws

Laws which experience of paſt Accidents has provided for future ones; and ſince they can't explain themſelves, but are mere Bodies which receive Soul, and underſtanding from the Judges, with whoſe Tongues they ſpeak, and by whoſe Pens they are explain'd, and apply'd to particular Caſes, it being impoſſible to comprehend all; let a Prince be very careful to whom he commits them; for in them he entruſts his very Being, and the chief Inſtruments of Government; but the choice being once rightly made, let him not hinder the free exerciſe and ordinary courſe thereof, but leave it wholly to the Magiſtrate; but if Princes will through Clemency or Arbitrary Power, intermeddle with the Expoſition of the Laws; all this Politick Structure will fall, and thoſe Laws which ſhould prop and ſupport it, rather cauſe its ruin. Tyranny is nothing elſe but an ignorance and contempt of the Laws, aſſuming to it ſelf their Power and Authority. This *Rome* of old bewail'd as the chief cauſe of its Slavery, *Auguſtus* arrogating to himſelf the chiefeſt Offices in the Law, that he might the better play the Tyrant (10).

When Cæſar *to himſelf aſſum'd the Laws,*
Poor Rome *grew ſoon degenerate and baſe,*
Forgot her War, and ſlept in ſervile Peace. Claud.

A Prince in obſtructing the Laws encourages Vice, as it happ'ned in the time of the Emperor *Claudius* (11).

Multiplicity of Laws are very dangerous to a State, for they deſtroy one another; being too numerous they create Confuſion and Oblivion, or when they can't be obſerv'd are deſpis'd. A ſure ſign of a diſſolute and corrupt State; one contradicts another, and makes room for ſiniſter Interpretations, and different Opinions, whence ariſe Diſputes and Contentions

(10) *Inſurgere paulatim, munia ſenatus, Magiſtratuum, legum in ſe trahere.* Tac. 1. Ann. (11) *Nam cuncta legum, & Magiſtratuum munia in ſe trahens Princeps, materiam prædandi patefecit.* Tac. 11. Ann.

The

The greateſt part of the People are taken up in Law, there want Men to manure the Ground; for Offices and War. A few good ſupport many bad, and many bad lord it over the few good. The Courts of Judicature are Harbours for Pirates, and Receptacles for Thieves. Thoſe very Men who ſhould be the Aſſertors of the Peoples Liberty, are the heavieſt Fetters of their Slavery (12). Too many Laws are not leſs pernicious to a State than Vices (13). He who makes many Laws, ſets many Traps, in which all muſt be caught. So *Caligula*, when he had a deſign upon the Innocent, eſtabliſhed many Laws, written in ſo ſmall a Character, that they could be hardly read. And *Claudius* publiſhed Twenty in one day, which ſo puzzled the People, that 'twas more difficult to know than to obſerve them. Therefore *Ariſtotle* ſaid, That few Laws were ſufficient for the weighteſt Caſes, and that the reſt ought to be left to natural Reaſon. Nothing is ſo prejudicial to State as multiplicity of Laws: Hence God threatened *Iſrael*, as a Puniſhment for their Sins, that he would multiply their Laws (14). To what purpoſe is it to make an Addition of new Laws upon every ſlight occaſion, when there is no caſe which has not happ'ned before, nor any inconveniency which has not been already conſider'd of, and by Obſervation and Experience provided for? Thoſe which are now introduc'd into *Caſtile*, as new, may be all found in the Ancient Records. The Obſervation of theſe would be much more agreeable to the People, and would create leſs Odium to the Prince, than the Promulgation of other new ones. In thoſe Judgment acquieſces, in theſe 'tis dubious and unſteady; thoſe ſeem to be founded with care, the Authority of theſe is queſtionable; thoſe may ſafely be renew'd, theſe can't be introduc'd with-

(12) *Deditque jura, quæ pace, & Principe uteremur, acriora ex ea vincula inditi cuſtodes.* Tac. 3. Ann. (13) *Utque antehac flagitiis ita nunc legibus laborabatur.* Tac. 3. Ann. (14) Becauſe *Ephraim* hath made many Altars to Sin, Altars ſhall be unto him to Sin. *Scribam ei multiplices leges meas*, ſays the *Latin* Verſion, *Hoſ.* 8. 11, 12.

out

out danger. To make Experiments of new Medicines is dangerous to Health and Life; many Herbs before the way of preparing them were known, were Poiſon. Better is that State govern'd, whoſe Laws, though imperfect, are ſettled, than that which is continually changing them. The Ancients to intimate that Laws, ought to be perpetual, wrote them upon Tables of Braſs (15), and God engrav'd them with his Eternal Finger upon Stone (16). For this reaſon *Auguſtus* adviſ'd the Senate, that they ſhould preſerve their Laws intire without altering them; for that tho' they were bad, they were more beneficial to the State than new ones (17). There is no Kingdom but is provided with Laws ſufficient; but care ought to be taken, leaſt the variety of Interpretations ſhould render them ambiguous and obſcure, and occaſion Diſputes and Controverſies. This ought to be prevented, which might with eaſe be done in *Spain*, if ſome King, upon this account not leſs a Reſtorer than *Pelagius*, would abbreviate all Proceſſes, and leaving the Civil Law, would make uſe only of thoſe of the Kingdom, which are not leſs prudent and learned than juſt and reaſonable. This King *Receſewind* meant, when in one of his Laws he ſaid,

Alſo King Alphonſus *the Wiſe, commanded his Judges.*

This their Majeſties, *Ferdinand* and *Joan*, afterwards confirm'd, as did King *Alarick*, who laid ſevere Penalties upon the Judges for admitting the Pleas of the *Roman* Laws. Nor does it a little derogate from Supream Juriſdiction to be govern'd by Foreign Laws. To this I

(15) *Uſus ariù ad perpetuitatem monumentorum jampridem tranſlatus eſt tabulis æreis, in quibus conſtitutiones publicæ incidantur.* (16) And he gave unto *Moſes*, when he had made an end of communing with him upon Mount *Sinai*, two Tables of Teſtimony, Tables of Stone written with the Finger of God. (17) *Poſitas ſemel leges conſtanter ſervate, nec ullam earum immutate; nam quæ in ſuo ſtatu eademque manent, etſi deteriora ſint, tamen utiliora ſunt Reipublicæ, his quæ per innovationem, vel meliora indecuntur.* Dion. l. 52.

foreſee

foreſee two Objections; firſt, that if theſe Laws were written in *Spaniſh*, the *Latin* Tongue would be loſt, and the Lawyers would apply themſelves wholly to the Study and Explanation of them only; beſides, that without the knowledge of the Civil Law, from whence they are deriv'd, they could not be well underſtood. The other is, that ſince the Civil Law is Common to almoſt all *Europe*, according to which cauſes ought to be decided, and that the Rights and Privileges of Princes are often to be determin'd in Foreign Parliaments, and Courts of Judicature; it will be very neceſſary to have Men well vers'd in the ſaid Law. Which inconveniences will be eaſily remedied by erecting and indowing ſome places for Civil Lawyers in the Univerſities; as (though upon different Motives) King *Ferdinand* did.

But if this can't be effected, the forementioned inconveniences may be thus remedied; firſt by prohibiting ſuch a vaſt number of Books to be imported, which ſerve only to clear the Pockets, not the underſtanding, nor is Printing any thing elſe now-a-days, but Merchandize and Trade. This variety confounds the Senſes, embarraſſes and puzzles the Judgment. 'Twould be more adviſeable, where the written Laws are not full enough for the Deciſion of any Controverſy, to be guided by Reaſon, that living Law, rather than to grope for Juſtice in the obſcurity of ſuch diverſity of Opinions, equally favourable to each ſide, and ſubject to Subornation and Paſſion. Next, by ſhortening the tedious Methods of the Law, as King *Philip* the Second deſign'd to do at *Milan*, when he conſulted with the Senate about that Affair. In which he not only reſpected the good of the Subject, but alſo that in that State, which is the Bullwark of the Kingdom, there might be more Men of the Sword than the Gown. The ſame was attempted by the Emperors, *Titus* and *Veſpaſian*, *Charles* the Fifth, their Catholick Majeſties, *Peter*, King of *Portugal*, *James* the firſt of *Arragon*, and *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*; none of them being able

able to effect it, nor can any one else hope to bring it about, since for the reforming the Practice of the Bench, the Judges themselves must be of Counsel, whose Interest it is to prolong Suits, as 'tis that of Soldiers to continue War. 'Twas pure necessity oblig'd the most Serene Queen *Isabel*, of her own accord, to make use of this Remedy, when being at *Sevil* harrass'd with vexatious Appeals, she commanded all Suits depending, to be by the assistance of able and learned Men, decided in her presence, without the noise of the Bar, and that Accumulation of Informations and Processes, and truly successfully enough as experience has shewn. The Cantons of *Switzerland* are very prudently govern'd, because there are no Lawyers among them; the Witnesses are heard, and without writing down any thing, except the Judgment, the Causes are immediately decided. A quick Condemnation is more expedient for the Client, than a favourable Judgment after a tedious dependance. He who commences a Law-suit now-a-days, does as it were plant a Palm-Tree, which he can't expect to live to gather the Fruit of. In a State where Suits are long and tedious, the People can never live peaceably and amicably (18). Let there therefore be few Counsellors, Attornies, and Sollicitors. How can that Government be quiet, in which there are so many who get their living by raising and promoting Feuds and Law-suits? What hopes of Restitution to the injur'd, when there are so many ready to fleece and strip him? Suppose them to be Persons of Worth and Integrity, yet is Justice ne'er the better administred for their number; no more than a Disease is better cur'd by many Physicians. Nor would it redound to the Common Good, if with the loss of the Publick Tranquility, and the Estates of the People, there should be made too nice a scrutiny into every ones Right: A moderate and moral Care is sufficient.

(18) *Non fuerint concordes unquam, aut inter amantes cives, ubi mutua multa lites judiciales sunt, sed ubi ea brevissima & paucissima.* Plato.

Nor

Nor does leſs damage arrive from an abundance of Penal Laws to prohibit Luxury in Cloaths, and ſuperfluous Expences; for ſuch Edicts are generally ſlighted, and not obſerved; the ſame Month in which they are eſtabliſh'd, they are aboliſh'd. They are like the Reſponſes of the *Sibyls*, written upon Leaves, and ſcatter'd by the Wind. And if once this diſobedience takes place, it makes Luxury more inſolent and ſecure (19). The Prince's Reputation ſuffers, when the Remedies which he preſcribes are ineffectual, or not obſerv'd. The Edicts of *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Dutcheſs of *Parma*, not being executed, derogated much from her Authority in *Flanders*. Therefore 'tis a queſtion, whether moderate Luxury be not a more tolerable Inconveniency, than a Prohibition when not obey'd (20)? Or whether it be not better to wink at old and ſettled Vices, than by feeble Laws to ſhew that they are ſtronger than the Prince? If Laws are once broken, unpuniſhed, there is no reſtraint or ſhame beyond. If a Prince would expreſs theſe Laws and Edicts about Reformation of Manners in himſelf, perhaps Flattery, or the natural Propenſity in Inferiors to imitate their Superiors, or the Subjects their Prince, would be more effectual than the rigour of the Law, and that without danger to Sovereign Authority. Frugality, which the Sumptuary Laws could not introduce, the Emperor *Veſpaſian* did, only by his Example (21). The Imitation of the Prince, is a Slavery ſweetned by Flattery. 'Tis eaſier for Nature to err in her own Works, ſaid *Theodorick*, King of the *Goths*, than for the Subjects not to obſerve the Manners of their Prince. In him, as in a Glaſs, the People adjuſt their Actions:

(19) *Tot à majoribus reperta, tot quas divus Auguſtus tulit, illa oblivioni, hæc (quod flagitioſius eſt) contemptui abolitæ, ſecuriorem luxum fecere.* Tac. 3. Ann. (20) *Num coercio plus damni in Remp. ferret; quam indecorum attrectare, quod non obtineretur, vel retentum ignominiam & infamiam virorum illuſtrium poſceret.* Tac. 3. Ann. (21) *Sed præcipuus adſtrictî moris auctor Veſpaſianus fuit, antiquo ipſe cultu, victuque obſequium inde in Principem, & æmulandi amor validior, quam pœna ex legibus, & metus.* Tac. 3. Ann.

The

——*The Nation follows ſtill,*
The Faſhions of the Court, and 't always proves,
Example more than Law the People moves. Claud.

Cuſtoms are Laws, not written upon Paper, but in the Mind and Memory of all, and are more grateful when not forc'd, but a free choice and ſort of liberty; and the ſame common Conſent, which firſt introduc'd them, ſtill obſerves them ſo ſtrictly, that it won't permit them to be altered though they are bad, for common Opinion, by which, after they have been received by their Anceſtors, the People are fully perſwaded they are juſt and reaſonable, does prevail more in this matter than the ſtrongeſt Arguments; nay, than the Inconveniences themſelves which are found in them. 'Tis therefore more prudent to bear with them, than wholly to remove them. A prudent Prince governs his State without altering its Cuſtoms (22). But if they are oppoſite to Virtue or Religion, they ought to be dexterouſly corrected, and the People by degrees prepared to know the reaſon. King *Froila* incurr'd the odium of many by diſannulling the Cuſtom of the Clergy's marrying, which had been before introduc'd by *Witiza*, and confirm'd by the Example of the *Greeks*.

If the State be not well conſtituted, and the Peoples minds docil and corrigible, Laws will be of ſmall uſe (23). Which I believe *Solon* meant, when being ask'd what Laws were beſt; he anſwered, thoſe which the People obſerve. Medicines are of no uſe where the Diſeaſe is incurable. Laſtly, Laws will be inſignificant, unleſs the Prince by his Life and Example confirm and ſtrengthen them (24). That Law ſeems pleaſant and eaſy to the People, which the Legiſlator himſelf obſerves:

(22) *Mos hominum tutiſſime agere, qui præſentibus moribus, legibuſque etiam ſi deteriores ſint, minimum variantes Rempub. adminiſtrant.* Thucid. (23) *Quid leges ſine moribus vanæ proficiunt?* S. Aug. (24) *Digna vocabſt Majeſtate regnantis, legibus alligatum ſe profiteri.* L. 4. C. de Leg.

If

If you command, and hope to be obey'd,
Obſerve your ſelf thoſe Laws your ſelf firſt made.
The People then will due Obedience ſhew,
To you who make Laws, and obſerve them too. Claud.

The Laws made by *Servius Tullius*, were not only for the People, but alſo for the Prince (25). By them Controverſies between the Prince and People ought to be determined: As *Tacitus* relates of *Tiberius* (26). *Tho'* (ſaid the Emperors, *Severus* and *Antoninus*) *we are free from the Laws, yet we live by them.* A Prince is not oblig'd by the ſtrict Letter of the Law, but by the Reaſon on which 'tis grounded, for that is natural and common to all, not peculiar to Subjects only for their good Government; for in ſuch caſe the Obſervation of the Law belongs to them alone, tho' 'twill be very neceſſary, if the Caſe will allow, for him to conform himſelf to them, that ſo they may ſeem the more pleaſant to others. This was the meaning of God's Command to *Ezekiel*, that he ſhould eat the Roll (27). That others ſeeing that he had firſt taſted the Laws, and found them ſweet as Honey, all might imitate him. The Kings of *Spain* are ſo ſubject to the Laws, that the Treaſury in caſes of the Royal Patrimony, runs the ſame fortune with any other Subject, and in a doubtful caſe is condemn'd. So it was enacted by *Philip* the Second; and once when his Grandſon, *Philip* the Fourth, your Highneſs's Father, was preſent in Council, upon a Debate of a Caſe relating to the Exchequer, neither the Judges wanted Integrity to give it againſt him, nor his Majeſty Temper to hear it without Reſentment. Happy is that State, in which the Prince's Cauſe is the worſt (28).

(25) *Quibus etiam Reges obtemperarent.* Tac. 3. Ann. (26) *Siquando cum privatis diſceptarent, forum & jus.* Tac. 4. Ann. (27) Eat this Roll, and go ſpeak unto the Houſe of *Iſrael*; ſo I opened my Mouth, and he caus'd me to eat the Roll, *Ezek.* 3. 1, *and* 2. (28) *Quæ gloria tua eſt præcipua, ſæpe vincitur Fiſcus cujus mala cauſa nunquam eſt, niſi ſub bono principe.* Plin. in Pan.

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EMBLEM XXII.

THough the Peoples Conſent confers the Power of Juſtice upon Princes, they receive it immediately from God, as being his Vicars in Temporal Affairs. They are the Royal Eagles, the Miniſters of *Jove* (1), who Adminiſter his Thunder, and ſupply his place in puniſhing Vice, and adminiſtring Juſtice; in which they have need of three Qualities of the Eagle, ſharpneſs of ſight to inſpect Crimes, ſwiftneſs of Wing for Execution, and ſtrength of Talons, that they main't fail therein. The Injury done by a certain Nobleman to a poor Peaſant, though in the remoteſt Corner of *Ga-*

(1) For he is the Miniſter of God to thee for good; but if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the Sword in vain, *Rom.* 13. 4.

licia, could not eſcape the quick ſight of King *Alphonſo* the Seventh, call'd Emperor, who diſguiſing himſelf, went immediately to puniſh him with ſuch ſpeed, that he apprehended him before he knew any thing of his coming. O lively and ardent Soul of the Law! to be himſelf Judge and Executioner, to ſatisfy an Injury done to a poor Peaſant, and to puniſh the unjuſt Oppreſſion of the Grandee. The ſame did King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, who being at *Medina*, went privately to *Salamanca*, and ſeized *Roderigo Maltonado*, who exercis'd great Oppreſſions in the Caſtle of *Monleon* (2). Who would ever tranſgreſs the Laws, if he always fear'd ſuch a ſurpriſe? One ſuch as this would frighten and reform a whole Kingdom. But it is not always expedient for Majeſty it ſelf to imitate ſuch Examples. When the State of the Kingdom is well ſettled, when the Courts of Judicature are open, and the fear of the Law is freſh and lively, 'tis ſufficeint for a Prince to ſee Juſtice adminiſter'd by his Miniſters. But when all is in Confuſion, when Obedience ſtaggers; when the King's Authority is ſlighted, as 'twas in thoſe times, then ſome ſuch ſuddain and ſevere Puniſhment will be ſeaſonable, that the People may know the Power of their Prince, and underſtand, that as in a Humane Body, ſo in a Kingdom, the Soul of Majeſty is all in all, and all in every part. Yet 'twill be very neceſſary to moderate this ſeverity, when the Diſtemper is inveterate, and the Kingdom confirm'd in Vice; for if Virtue ſhould be too ſevere upon Vice, and endeavour to reform all at once, 'twould be eſteem'd rather Cruelty than Juſtice. Time muſt recruit that which time has weakned; to precipitate a Cure is dangerous, and may make the Prince experience the Rage of the incens'd Multitude. Connivance and Dexterity is often more effectual than force. In this King *Ferdinand* the Catholick was excellent; and by this King *Peter* was deceiv'd, who relying wholly

(2) Mar. Hiſt. of *Spain*.

upon

upon Severity, got the Name of Cruel. Though Justice be one single Virtue, yet has it various Effects, according to the difference of time. Sometimes the People wholly reject it, and become more Insolent; sometimes they acknowledge the damage of their excess, and co-operate with the Prince to remedy it, and suggest the most severe means against their own Liberty, by which the Prince acquires the Name of Just without danger.

Let not a Prince remit the Punishment of such Offences against the Government, in which few are concern'd, but pardon those in which many are involv'd. *Agrippa* being put to Death, in the Isle of *Planasia*, by the Order of *Tiberius*, a certain Slave who was very like him, stealing away his Ashes, pretended that he was *Agrippa*; the *Romans* believ'd it; the Report spread, and caus'd a Tumult, with evident danger of a Civil War. *Tiberius* caus'd the Slave to be apprehended, and put to Death privately, and though many Gentlemen and Senators of his own Family, were said to have assisted him with Money and Advice (3), yet would he suffer none to speak in his behalf. Thus Prudence triumph'd over Cruelty, and by Silence and Connivence he appeas'd the Disorder.

Let a Prince pardon small Offences, and punish great ones; sometimes let him be content with Repentance, which *Tacitus* commended in *Agricola* (4). He is not the best Governor who punishes with most Severity, but he who pardons with such Discretion and Circumspection, as not to give any occasion to the Delinquents to transgress again. No body commends a Chirurgeon for cutting off many Legs and Arms; no body hates a Prince for punishing, provided he does it with Reluctancy and Grief; but him who de-

(3) *Et quanquam multi ex ejus domo equites ac senatores sustentasse ejusdem, juvisse consilio, dicerentur.* Tac. 2. Ann. (4) *Parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commendare; nec pœna semper, sed sæpius pœnitentia contentus esse.* Tac. in Vit. Agric.

lights in it, and eagerly carps at all opportunities of doing it. To punish for Example, and amendment is Mercy; but to do it through Passion or Avarice is Tyranny. Let not a Prince suffer any one to think himself so great, and free from the Laws, as to dare to oppose the Ministers of Justice; and those who represent its Power and Authority; for so the Pillar of Justice can't stand secure (5); when such boldness once takes place, contempt will by degrees undermine it, and bring it to the Ground. The chief Foundation of the *Spanish* Monarchy, and that which has rais'd it to such an height, and keeps it so, is the inviolable Observation of Justice and Rigour, by which its Kings have always taken care to make it respected and esteem'd of all. No Violation of it goes unpunish'd, though great be the Dignity and Authority of the Delinquent. A certain Judge at *Corduba*, was by the Command of King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, enquiring into some Misdemeanor, whom when the Marquis of *Priego* had arrested, the King so resented it, that all the Signal Services of that Family of *Corduba*, could not hinder him from punishing him very severely; afterwards he put himself wholly into his Majesty's Hands, by the Advice of the Great Captain, who seeing the heinousness of the Crime, which would not admit of Pardon, wrote to him to cast himself at the King's Feet, by which he might perhaps expiate his Crime, but if not he would certainly be ruined (6).

Nor ought a Prince only to punish Crimes committed against his own Person, or during his Reign; but those also which were acted in the last, though the State were then under the Power of an Enemy. For Presidents of Disobedience and Contempt of Authority being conniv'd at, or rewarded, are dangerous even to Successors. Dignity is ever the same, being always

(5) *Hanc P. C. curam sustinet Princeps, hac omissa funditus Resp. trahet.* Tac. 3. Ann. (6) Mar. Hist of *Spain.*

espoused

espoused to him who possesses her. Wherefore he defends his own Cause, who takes care of his Predecessor's Honour, though 'twas not wounded in his time. A Prince ought not to leave behind him the Memory of one, who has been so impudent as to affront Authority unpunish'd; for if once Subjects are perswaded that they may raise their Fortunes, or satisfy their Passions, by the Death or Abuse of the Prince, none will be able to live secure. The Punishment of Impudence to the Predecessor, is the security of the Successor, and a warning to all from daring to attempt the like. For which reason *Vitellius* put all those to Death, who petition'd him for Rewards for the Murther of *Galba* (7). Every one is treated as he treats others. *Julius Cæsar* commanding the Statues of *Pompey* to be erected, confirm'd his own. If Princes should not unite against Contempt and Treason, Authority and Loyalty would be in danger.

In Cases where the same circumstances concur, a Prince ought not to connive at some and punish others, for nothing renders them more odious than partiality (8). Whence the *Egyptians* signified the Equality which should be observ'd in Justice, by the Feathers of an Ostrich, which are equal on both sides.

'Tis great Prudence in a Prince to find such sorts of Punishments, as will expiate the Offence, with the least damage to the Delinquent. Certain Noblemen fomented Disturbances in *Galicia*; and though they deserv'd Death, King *Ferdinand* the Fourth call'd them to him, and gave them employs in the Army, where some of them were punish'd by the Enemy, others by the Hardships and Toils of War, and so that Province was reduc'd to its former Tranquility.

(7) *Non homine Galbæ, sed traditis principibus more, munimentum ad præsens, in posterum ultionem.* Tac. Hist. lib. 1. (8) *Cavendum est ne iisdem de caussis alii plectantur, alii ne appellantur quidem.* Cic. de Off.

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As in time of Peace, Justice and Mercy are very advantageous, so in War are Rewards and Punishments; because there the Dangers are so great, as would not be attempted without great hopes, and nothing but fear could restrain the Licentiousness of the Soldiers. In so much as without these two things, says King *Alphonso*, *The Faults which are committed in War are much more dangerous; for if Men have so much to do to defend themselves from the Mischief of their Enemies, how much more have they from that which accrues from their own Faults?* For which reason the *Romans* inflicted divers sorts of Infamy and Punishment upon the Soldiers who fail'd in their Duty, or in any dangerous Attempt or Military Affair; whence they were less afraid of the Enemy than the Punishment, and chose rather to die bravely in Action, than to lose their Honour or Lives afterwards with perpetual Ignominy and Disgrace. In those times none durst Desert, because he could not shelter himself in any part of the Empire. Now-a-days Deserters are not only not punished when they return to their own Country; but stalking from Battel, they March from *Milan* to *Naples*, where as if they had serv'd under some other Prince, they are again listed into his Majesty's Service, to the great detriment thereof. In which the Vice-Roys should follow the Example of the *Roman* Senate, who after the Battel of *Cannæ*, though they were in extream want of Soldiers, could not be induc'd to redeem six thousand Prisoners which *Hannibal* offered them, thinking them not worth Redemption, who suffer'd themselves ignominiously to be taken Prisoners, when they might have died gloriously.

The Errors of Generals committed through ignorance, ought rather to be conniv'd at than punish'd, least the fear of being punished or reprimanded should make them too timorous. Besides the greatest Prudence may be confounded in Accidents of War, whence they deserve Compassion rather than Punishment. *Varro* lost the Battel of *Cannæ*, and at his return the whole Senate

Senate went out to receive him, thanking him for that in such a total Defeat he had not wholly despair'd of Affairs.

When connivence is not convenient, but the Execution of Justice is required, let it be done with readiness and resolution. He who does it privately and by stealth, is more like an Assassine than a Prince. He who checks the Authority which the Crown gives him, either doubts his Power or Merit; from the Prince's distrust of himself proceeds the People's disrespect. Whole Opinion of him is answerable to what he has of himself. King *Alphonso* the Wise lost the esteem of his People, by doing Justice in private. This can be convenient only in troublesome times, when greater Dangers may be fear'd, if the People don't see the Authors of Seditions punish'd even they know they are taken. Thus *Tiberius* acted for fear of this Inconveniency (9). In other Cases let a Prince execute that Office boldly and vigorously, which he holds in the Name of God and the People; for 'twas Justice that at first gave him his Scepter, and 'tis that which must preserve it. 'Tis the Will of God, the Harmony of Government, and the Protection of Majesty. If the Laws be once suffer'd to be broken unpunish'd, there will be neither Fear nor Modesty, and without them no Peace nor Quiet (10). Yet let Princes consider that they are like Masters of Families; nay, that they really are such in respect to their Subjects, and therefore let them temper Justice with Clemency. They ought to drink the Sins of the People, as God intimated to St. *Peter*, by that Vessel of unclean Animals, out of which he commanded him to eat (11). A Prince should have the Stomach of an Ostrich, so

(9) *Nec Tiberius pœnam ejus palam auſus, in ſecreta palatii parte interfici juſſit, corpuſque clam auferri.* Tac. 2 Ann. (10) *Si prohibita impunè transcenderis, neque metus ultrà neque pudor eſt.* Tac. 3. Ann. (11) Wherein were all manner of fourfooted Beasts of the Earth, and wild Beasts, and creeping Things, and Fowls of the Air; and there came a Voice unto him, Rise, *Peter*, kill and eat, *Acts* 10. 12, 13.

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hot with Mercy as to digest Iron, and should be also an Eagle with the Thunder of Justice, which by striking one terrifies all. For if all were to be punish'd who transgress'd, there would be none left for the Prince to Command, for there is scarce any Man so just, as not to have one time or other deserved Death (12). The Rigour of Justice is not less dangerous to the Crown, Life, and Empires, than Injustice. Of this King *John* the Second is an Example, who for his great Severity became odious to his People: And King *Peter* the Cruel, lost thereby his Kingdom and Life too. Let Justice and Mercy walk hand in hand, so link'd together, as if they were Parts of the same Body, yet so that one may be us'd without Offence to the other. For this reason God gave not the flaming Sword, which guarded Paradise, to a Seraphim, which is all Love and Mercy; but to a Cherubim, a Spirit of Knowledge, who knew better how to temper Justice with Clemency (13). Nothing is more pernicious than a Prince over-merciful. In the times of *Nerva* they us'd to say, That 'twas more difficult to live under a Prince who bore with all, than one who bore with nothing. For he is not less Cruel who pardons all, than he who forgives none, nor is excessive Mercy less prejudicial to the People than Cruelty (14); and sometimes Indulgence and Forbearance does more mischief than the Crime it self. For wickedness grows bolder, when it can promise it self pardon. 'Twas the Clemency, or rather Negligence of King *Henry* the Fourth, that made his Reign as Bloody as that of King *Peter* was by his Cruelty. Clemency and Severity, the one profuse, and the other moderate, make the Prince beloved (15). He who can neatly and pru-

(12) *Vix enim quisquam adeò mali expers, ut non aliquam mortem meruerit.* Tac. 2. Ann. (13) And he plac'd at the east end of the Garden of *Eden* Cherubims, and a flaming Sword, *Gen.* 3. 24. (14) *Faciliores sunt improbi, supplicia luentes, quam si eos nulla justitia pœna coerceat.* Boet. lib. 4. Phil. (15) *Minumque amorem affectus erat effusa clementia, modicum severitate.* Tac. 6. Ann.

dently

dently temper these Virtues, can't chuse but govern well; nay, his whole Reign will be a tuneful Harmony, like that which proceeds from a Base and Treble (16). Heaven produces Corn by the mildness of its Dew, and preserves it by the rigour of its Frosts and Snows. If God were not merciful, we should fear him, but not adore him; both these Virtues make him both fear'd and lov'd. Therefore *Alphonsus*, King of *Arragon*, us'd to say, by Justice I oblige the good, the bad by Clemency. The one compels their Fear, the other engages their Love. Confidence of pardon makes Subjects arrogant, and excessive Clemency creates Contempt and Disrespect, and occasions the Ruin of Governments.

(16) I will sing of Mercy and Judgment, unto thee, O Lord, will I sing.

EMBLEM. XXIII.

THERE are no greater Chymists than Princes, who set a value upon worthless Trifles in bestowing them upon others as a Reward of Virtue (1). The *Romans* invented several sorts of Crowns, as Mural, Civick, and Naval, as glorious Badges of great and worthy Exploits; these Nature suppli'd them with as Grass, Palm, and Bays; of which without any cost they made those Crowns. The Treasury would not have been sufficient to have rewarded Services, had not that politick Invention of Crowns been thought on; which being given as publick Testimonies of Va-

(1) *Imperator aliquando torquibus, murali, & civicâ donat; quid habet per se pretiosum, quid prætexta, quid fasces, quid tribunal, quid curulis? nil horum honor est, sed honoris insigne.* Sen. lib. 1. de Ben.

lour

lour were more valued and esteem'd than Gold or Silver. The Soldiers underwent all Fatigues and Dangers to obtain them. For the same reason the Kings of *Spain* founded Military Orders, whose Badges were not only marks of Nobility, but also of Valour; so that all care ought to be taken to keep up their Value and Esteem, by bestowing them with great attention and respect to Merit; for they are so much esteem'd as they are tokens of Nobility and Bravery; but if without distinction they should be promiscuously conferr'd on all, they would grow cheap and contemptible. And *Arminius* might well jeer his Brother *Flavius* (who follow'd the *Roman* Faction) that when he had lost an Eye in Battel, he should call to mind the Collar and Crown, the cheap Rewards of Slavery (2). The *Romans* so well knew of what advantage 'twas to preserve the Peoples Esteem for those Rewards, that *Tiberius* held a Council about the Qualifications which a Soldier ought to be indow'd with, to merit a Crown of Oak. In the Badge of the Order of St. *James*, (the Figure of this present Emblem) are express'd the Endowments which ought to be consider'd ere it is bestow'd; for the ground-work is a Scollop-shell, the Product of the Sea; bred among Waves and Billows, and inur'd to Fatigues; in its fair Bosom shines the Pearl, the Emblem of Nobility and Virtue, as well for its Purity, as that it is bred by the Dew of Heaven; when these are bestow'd upon Children, or such who have not deserv'd them by any signal Service, they are Tokens of Favour, not Rewards. Who will endeavour to merit them by Services, if he can obtain them by Diligence? They were instituted for War, not Peace, and so ought to be distributed among those only who have signaliz'd themselves therein, or serv'd at least four Years in the Army, and made themselves fit for Preferment (3), which doubtless would induce more of the

(2) *Irridente Arminio vilia servitii præmia.* Tac. 2. Ann. (3) *Honor augmentum non ambitione, sed labore ad unumquemque convenit pervenire.* L. contra publicam C. de re milit.

Nobility

Nobility to apply their minds to Arms, and the Art of War would flourish more.

This, because the *Athenians* neglected, they became a Prey to the *Macedonians* (4). *Alexander Severus* considering the importance of gratifying the Soldiery, as being the Foundation and Security of the Empire, divided the Contributions among them; esteeming it a great Crime to squander it away in Luxury, or upon his Courtiers (5).

Let other Rewards be common to all, who signalize themselves either in War or Peace; to this end the Scepter was endow'd with Riches, Honours, and Offices; as also with the Power and Authority of Justice, that with these it might punish Offences; with this reward Virtue and Valour.

Without Rewards and Punishments, Government would be in Confusion, for they are the Spirit that maintains and preserves them; without them they can't subsist, for the hopes of Reward engage Respect, and the fear of Punishment, Obedience, even against the natural desire of Liberty. Hence the Ancients represented Empire by a Whip, as may be seen in some Consular Coins; and 'twas a Prognostick of the Grandeur of *Augustus*, who dreaming that *Jupiter* offer'd him a Whip; he interpreted it to be the *Roman* Empire, which had been erected and maintain'd by Rewards and Punishments. Who would refrain from Vice if there were no Punishments? Who would expose themselves to Dangers, were there no Rewards? *Democritus* considering that the World could not be govern'd without them, call'd them *Two Gods of the World*. They are the Poles of the Orb of Civil Authority, the two Lights of a State, without which it would be over-

(4) *Tunc vectigal publicum, quo antea milites & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi cœptum, quibus rebus effectum est, ut inter Græcorum, sordidum & obscurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret.* Trog. l. 6. (5) *Aurum & argentum raro cuiquam nisi militi divisit, quod esse dicens, ut dispensator publicus in delectationes suas & suorum conferret, id quod provinciales dedissent.* Lamp. in Vit. Alex.

whelm

whelm'd in foggy darkness: They are the Props of Princes Thrones (6). For this reason *Ezekiel* commanded King *Zedekiah* to lay down his Crown and other Regalia, as being unworthy of them, in that he would not distribute Rewards with Justice (7). The Prince in acknowledging Merits, acknowledges a Reward due, for they are Relatives; and if he gives not that, he is unjust. The importance of Rewards and Punishments was not well consider'd by the Legislators and Lawyers, who have been altogether upon Penalties and Punishments, without ever mentioning Rewards. That wise Legislator of the *Partidas* consider'd better of this; for that he might join one with the other, he intituled it particularly *of Rewards*.

Since therefore Rewards and Punishments are so necessary for a Prince, that without this Balance he can't walk steadily upon the Rope of Government, he ought well to consider the right use of them. For this reason the Lictors Rods were bound up; but the Crowns being made of Leaves, which soon fade, were wrought after the Victory; that while those were loos'd, and these were finish'd, some time might interfere between the Fault and the Punishment, between the Desert and the Reward, and that the Merit and Demerit might be duly consider'd. Rewards inconsiderately given, scarce merit thanks. He soon repents, who bestows them rashly; nor is Virtue safe from him, who punishes without Discretion. If the Punishment be extravagant, the People excuse the Fault, and blame the Severity. If Virtue and Vice be equally rewarded, the one is disgusted, the other becomes insolent. If in equality of Merit, one is rewarded above the other, it creates Envy and Ingratitude; for Envy and Gratitude for the same thing, can never go together; also the method of dispensing Rewards and Punishments ought to be consider'd; for Rewards ought not to be defer'd till

(6) For the Throne is establish'd by righteousness, *Prov.* 16. 12.
(7) Remove the Diadem, and take off the Crown, *&c. Ezek.* 21. 26.

they

they grow despicable, as being despair'd of; nor Punishments till they seem not due, as being aton'd for by length of time, or as not being now exemplary to others, for as much as the Cause is wholly worn out of Memory. King *Alphonso* the Wise, one of your Highness's Progenitors, very judiciously admonish'd his Posterity, how they ought to behave themselves in Rewards and Punishments, saying, *That we ought to behave our selves with Moderation, as well in the Good we do, as in the Ill we punish; for that in both the one and the other we must have regard to the Circumstances of the Person, Time and Place, and that the World properly speaking is supported but by the Observation of these two things, Rewarding those that do well, and Punishing those that do otherwise.* Sometimes 'twill be convenient to defer the distribution of Rewards, that they may not seem due from Justice, and that those who expect them, flush'd with those hopes, may more vigorously perform their Duty; nor is there any Merchandise cheaper, than that which is bought with the hopes of Reward. 'Tis certain Men do more out of hopes than for Rewards already receiv'd. Whence it appears how prejudicial is Succession in Publick Offices and Rewards, which *Tiberius* consider'd when he oppos'd the Proposal of *Gallus*, that the Candidates should be nam'd every five Years, who should succeed in the Lieutenancies of Legions, and the Prætorship; for that others, for want of hopes, would slag in their Duty and Service (8). In which *Tiberius* did not only respect the publick Detriment, but also that he should hereby lose the Prerogative of distributing Rewards, in which he conceiv'd the strength of his Government consisted (9). And so by a plausible Oration he retain'd his Authority (10). Court Favourites, uncertain of the continuance of their Power,

(8) *Subverti leges, quæ sua spatia exercendæ Candidaturæ indixerint, quærendisque haud potiundis honoribus statuerint.* Tac. 2. Ann.
(9) *Haud dubium erat, eam sententiam altius penetrare, & arcana imperii tentari.* Tac. 2. Ann. (10) *Atque ita favorabili in speciem oratione, vim imperii retinuit,* Ibid.

rarely

surely remedy this inconvenience of future Succession, thereby to adjust their own Actions, to weaken the Prince's Power, and free themselves from the importunity of Petitioners.

A Prince being as it were the Heart of his State, as King *Alphonso* said, *The vital Spirits of Riches and Rewards, should by it be imparted to the other Members, even the remotest Parts, though they cannot injoy his Presence, should nevertheless participate of his Favours.* Princes are seldom mov'd by this consideration. They usually Reward those only who are about them, being overcome either by the importunity of Petitions, or by the flattery of their Courtiers, or through want of Resolution to refuse them. And so as Rivers only refresh the Grounds through which they run; so they gratify and reward those only who are near them, unmindful of the Pains and Perils their Foreign Ministers undergo to preserve their Authority, and to do that which they themselves cannot. All Favours are shared among Courtiers and Parasites; those Services are most valued, which smell of Civet and Pulville, not those which are smear'd with Blood and Dust; those which are seen, not those which are heard of at a distance; as well because flattery sooner strikes the Eyes than Ears, as because the Mind is tickled with the vain Glory of present Submissions and Acknowledgements. For these Reasons Court-Services are sooner rewarded than Desert, Ambition before Zeal, and Complaisance before Fatigue and Toil. A Splendor which pays it self.

He, who does Absent Services may perhaps be commended, not rewarded. He will be for a while fed with vain Hopes and Promises, but will at last die starv'd with Despair. The Remedy is coming sometimes to Court, for no Letters or Memorials are so perswasive as Presence. The Buckets of Pretention are not to be fill'd, unless they are dipp'd into the Court-waters. The Presence of Princes is as fertile as that of the Sun. All things flourish when that shines, but fade and wither in its absence. To him who stands under the Tree, the

the Fruit drops into his hand. Whence all covet to live at Court, and decline Foreign Employments, in which the Prince has moſt need of Miniſters. This would be remedied, if the Bait of Rewards was thrown farther off, if they were beſtow'd where deſerv'd, not where they are begg'd; without need of Petitions or Importunities. King *Theoderick* comforted the abſent, ſaying, That from his Court he obſerv'd their Actions, and diſcern'd their Merits (11). *Pliny* ſaid of *Trajan*, that it was eaſier for his Eyes to forget the Perſons of the abſent, than for his Mind not to remember his Love towards them (12). Yet this advice for abſent Miniſters to repair ſometimes to Court, ought not to be effected, by deſiring to be diſmiſt from their Offices, but ſtill retaining them, by giving ſeveral Reaſons to get leave of the Prince to be ſometimes with him; for ſo they may obtain what they deſire, ſtill retaining that which if they ſhould quit, might be confer'd upon another. Many either diſſatisfied with their preſent Station, or Ambitious of greater, reſign it, and afterwards repent, finding their Hopes and Expectations fruſtrated, for the Prince looks upon it as a Slighting and Contempt of his Favour. Let no man preſume ſo much upon his own Perſon and Parts, as to think the Prince can't Live without him. For Princes never want Miniſters, and being once Slighted, they often forget their Chiefeſt. This I ſpeak to thoſe who canvaſs for publick Employs, not thoſe who knowing the Vanity of them, chooſe to live Solitarily and Retir'd. Only let them conſider, that great Souls form'd for Buſineſs, don't always find in retirement that Eaſe and Tranquility of Mind, which they propoſe, and being once ingag'd therein, without being able to change their Reſolutions, they live and die miſerable.

(11) *Abunde cognoſcetur quiſquis fama teſte laudatur; quæ propius longiſſime conſtitutum mentis noſtræ oculus ſerenus inſpexit & vidit meritum.* Caſſiod. lib. 9. cap. 22. (12) *Facilius quippe eſt, ut oculis ejus cultus abſentis, quam animo charitas excidat.* Plin. in Paneg.

Modeſty

Modeſty in receiving Rewards and Gratuities, is of great uſe, together with ſuch a prudent Carriage, as may make them appear Obligations to farther Services, not to drain the Prince's Liberality, for this obliges him yet more: As God; when *Solomon* ask'd for nothing but an underſtanding Heart, not only gave him that, but alſo Riches and Glory (13). They ought not to be demanded as a Debt, for Virtue is to it ſelf a fair and large Reward; and though ſome acknowledgement be due, yet does it depend upon the Prince's Favour. And all had rather it ſhould be receiv'd as their Bounty, not a juſt Debt to deſert. Whence Princes are more inclin'd to Reward liberally ſmall Services, but great ones more ſparingly, for they think they ſhall receive more acknowledgments from the one, than the other. Whence he who has receiv'd many favours, may expect to receive more, for Bounty once beſtow'd cauſes farther Benefits. For a Prince had rather another ſhould acknowledge himſelf his Debtor, than he his, the firſt being the more honourable. *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*, uſed to ſay, *That he had more regard for one, who for ſmall Services had been well rewarded, than for others who for great Services had receiv'd but ſmall Reward.* The Emperor *Theodorick* owning this failure, confeſs'd, *That 'twas from Ambition that Rewards ſprouted out, without the leaſt care of him who planted them, and that it provoked him to give more to thoſe whom he had once began to favour* (14). This is viſible in Favourites, towards whom Princes Favour and Liberality ſeem a kind of Obſtinacy.

(13) And I have alſo given thee that which thou haſt not ask'd, both Riches and Honour; ſo that there ſhall not be any among the Kings like unto thee, in thy days, 1 *Kings* 3. 13. (14) *Amamus noſtra beneficia germinare, nec ſemel præſtat largitulis collatæ faſtidium, magisque nos provocant ad frequens præmium, qui initia noſtræ gratiæ ſuſcipere meruerunt; novis enim judicium impenditur, favor autem ſemel placitis exhibetur.* Caſ. lib. 2. Epiſt. 2.

EMBLEM XXIV.

THough (as we have said before) Justice arm'd with the Laws, and Rewards, and Punishments, are the Pillars which support the Structure of the State, yet will these Pillars be in the Air, unless founded upon the Basis of Religion, which is the Bond of the Laws; for the Jurisdiction of Justice comprehends only external Acts, legitimately approv'd of; but don't extend to private and internal ones. It has Authority only over the Body, not the Mind; so that Wickedness would little heed Punishment, when it could privately commit Injuries, Adulteries, and Rapine; nay, he would make a jest of the Laws, were there not another invisible one, menacing within. So necessary is this fear in a Government, that some Atheistical Persons esteem Religion but a meer Politick Invention; who without

it would be content with his Poverty and present Condition? What Trust in Bonds and Covenants? What Integrity in the Administration of Goods? What Fidelity in Offices and Employments? What Security of Life? Few would be entic'd by Rewards, if they could obtain the same thing by private Injustice; few would be charm'd with the Beauty of Virtue, if through hopes of a more lasting Garland than one of Palm, they did not confine themselves to the strict Rules of Continency. Vices would soon confound the Order of Government, without the principal end of Happiness, which consists in Virtue, and in this Foundation and Bulwark of Religion, which sustains and defends the Civil Power, if the People did not think that there was another Supream Tribunal to Judge the Thoughts and Imaginations, whose Rewards and Punishments will be Eternal. The hope and fear of this being born in the most barbarous and impious Sinners, do regulate and compose their Actions. *Caligula* scoff'd at, and ridiculed the Gods; yet, when it Thundered he was forc'd to own a Supream Hand, which had Power to punish him. This Hand all acknowledge, for there is no Heart which is not touch'd with that Divine Magnet. And as the Mariners Needle from a certain natural Sympathy, is in perpetual Motion, till it stops at the Light of that fix'd *North* Star, about which all the Cœlestial Orbs are turned, so we can't live quietly till we acknowledge and adore that increated *North*, in which is true rest, and from whence proceeds the Motion of all things. Who ought to observe this more than a Prince, who is the Pilot of the State, upon whose care it depends to bring the Ship safe into Port? Nor is it enough for him to seem to look at that, while he keeps his Eyes upon other dark and obscure ones, for so he would lose his Course, and run the Vessel upon Sands and Rocks, and so make a Wreck. The People will be divided in Opinions, and thence into Factions, from whence arise Plots and Seditions, and from them

changes in States and Empires *. More Princes are ruined by Diſſention in Religion than by Arms. For which reaſon the Sixth Council of *Toledo* prudently enacted †, That no Prince ſhould come to the Crown before he had firſt taken an Oath not to tolerate any one in his Realm who was not a Chriſtian. *Spain* could never be at quiet till it rejected the Errors of *Arius*, and wholly embrac'd the Catholick Religion, ſince which the People have liv'd ſo happily, that when King *Weterick* afterwards endeavour'd to introduce that Sect, he was kill'd in his very Palace; but notwithſtanding many like Examples, there are ſome who dare impiouſly teach Princes to diſſemble and counterfeit Religion. He who diſſembles it, does not believe it. And if this Diſſimulation be a politick Artifice to unite Peoples Minds, and to maintain the State, true Religion would better do it than falſe, for this is fading, that Eternal. Many Empires founded upon falſe Religions, proceeding from Ignorance, God has preſerv'd a long time, rewarding by that means their Morality, and blind Worſhip, and barbarous Sacrifices, with which they ſought him; not that they were acceptable to him, but for the religious Simplicity wherewith they were ſometimes offer'd. But has never preſerved thoſe Empires, which counterfeited Religion more through Malice and Artifice than Ignorance. St. *Iſidore*, at his Death, foretold the *Spaniards*, that if they ſtray'd from the True Religion they ſhould be ſubdu'd by their Enemies; but if they perſiſted in it, their Grandeur ſhould be rais'd above all Nations. Which was verified by the Yoak of the *Africans*, which began from the time that *Witiza* deny'd Obedience to the Pope, after which liberty of Worſhip, and licenciouſneſs of Vice diſturbed the Publick Peace, and ruined Military Diſcipline, which brought heavy Misfortunes upon the King himſelf, and his Sons, as well as upon the Kingdom; till being ſubdu'd and chaſtis'd, *Spain* acknow-

* Mar. Hiſt. of *Spain*. † Concil. Tolet, cap. 3.

ledg'd

ledg'd its Errors, and again found Heaven propitious in that little handful of Chriſtians, with which *Pelagius* retir'd into a Cave in the Mountain *Auſena*, call'd *Cavalonga*, where the Arrows and Stones of the Moors were miraculouſly retorted upon themſelves †. From that the Monarchy began to revive, and roſe (though after a long time) to that greatneſs, which it at preſent enjoys, as a Reward of its conſtancy in the Catholick Religion.

Since then, Religion is the Soul of Governments, a Prince ought to uſe all poſſible care to preſerve it; The firſt Spirit which *Romulus*, *Numa*, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Plato*, and other Founders, infus'd into them, was Religion (1), for that unites Mens minds more than neceſſity. The Emperors, *Tiberius* and *Adrian* prohibited all Foreign Religion, and were wholly intent upon the Preſervation of their own: As alſo *Theodoſius* and *Conſtantine*, who eſtabliſhed Laws and Puniſhments againſt thoſe who revolted from the Catholick Faith. Their Majeſties, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, never tolerated the Exerciſe of any other Religion. In which commendable was the Conſtancy of King *Philip* the Second, and his Succeſſors, who could never be induc'd to compoſe the Seditions of the *Netherlands* by Toleration of Liberty of Conſcience, though they might thereby have retain'd thoſe Provinces, and ſav'd thoſe Immenſe Treaſures which were expended in the War. They preferr'd the Honour and Glory of God to their own Eaſe and Tranquility; imitating *Flavius Jovianus*, who being proclaim'd Emperor by the Army, excus'd himſelf, ſaying, *That he was a Chriſtian, and that 'twas not fit he ſhould Command them who were not ſo, and would not Conſent till all the Soldiers had promis'd to turn Chriſtians.* Though he might inherit this pious Conſtancy from his Anceſtors, ſince the Eighth Council of

† Mar. Hiſt. of *Spain.* (1) *Omnium primam rem ad multitudinem imperitam efficaciſſimam Deorum metum injiciendum ratus.* Liv.

Toledo mentions the same thing of King *Recesuinthus* (2). Of which Piety your Royal Highness's Father, *Philip* the Fourth of glorious Memory, is a signal Example to your Royal Highness. In the beginning of whose Reign it being argu'd in Council, whether the Truce should be continued with the *Dutch*; and some of his Counsellors urging that it was not Policy to begin War, or any change of Affairs, in the beginning of a Reign; he oppos'd them, saying, *That he would not have his Name branded with the Infamy of having maintain'd one hours Peace with the Enemies of God and his Crown*; and so immediately broke the Truce. For this ardent Zeal and Constancy in the Catholick Religion, King *Recaredus* merited the Name of Catholick, (as long before the Kings of *France* that of most Christian). In the Third Council of *Toledo*, and in that of *Barcelona*, which Title the Kings *Sisebutus* and *Ervigius* kept, which their Successors afterwards lost, till re-assum'd by King *Alphonso* the First, to distinguish him from Hereticks and Schismaticks.

Though 'tis a King's Duty to maintain Religion in his Realms, and to promote the Worship of God, as his Vicars in Temporal Affairs, that they may Govern to his Glory, and their Subjects Safety; yet they ought to know that 'tis not in them to decide Controversies in Religion and Divine Worship, for the care of this belongs directly to the Spiritual Head of the Church, to whom alone Christ has given this Authority, the Execution, Preservation, and Defence thereof only is committed to Kings, as that Head shall order and direct. The Priests sharply check'd King *Uzziah*, and God severely punish'd him because he offer'd Incense (3). 'Tis necessary for the Preservation of the Purity of

(2) *Ob hoc sui Regni apicem à Deo solidari præoptaret si Catholicæ fidei per cuntium turmas acquireret, indignum reputans Catholicæ fidei Principem sacrilegis imperare.* Concil. Tol. 8. cap. 11. (3) And they withstood *Uzziah* the King, and said unto him, It appertaineth not unto thee, *Uzziah*, to burn Incense unto the Lord, but to the Priests, 2 *Chron.* 26. 18.

Religion,

Religion, that it be the same in all the Parts of the Christian World. True Worship would soon be lost, if each Prince might accommodate it to his own Ends and Designs. In those Provinces and Kingdoms where this has been attempted, there scarce remain any Tracts thereof, so that the poor distracted People are wholly ignorant of the True Religion. The Spiritualty and Temporalty are two distinct Jurisdictions; this is adorn'd by the Authority of the other, and that is maintain'd by the others Power. 'Tis an Heroick Obedience which submits to the Vicar of him who disposes of Crowns and Scepters. As arbitrary and free from the Laws as Princes pretend to be, they must still pay Obedience to the Apostolick Decrees, and are oblig'd to give force to them, and see them strictly observ'd in their Dominions; especially when 'tis not only expedient for the Spiritual, but also the Temporal Good, that those Holy Decrees be put in Execution, nor should they suffer any one to violate them, to the damage and prejudice of their Subjects, and their Religion.

EMBLEM XXV.

THE Stork builds its Neſt upon the Church Steeple, and by the Sanctity of the Place makes its Succeſſion ſecure. The Prince who founds his Kingdom upon the Triangular ſtone of the Church, renders it ſtrong and laſting. The *Athenians* once conſulting the Oracle of *Delphi*, how they might defend themſelves againſt *Xerxes*, who with a vaſt Fleet of twelve Hundred Sail, was coming to fall on them, were anſwer'd, That if they could fence their City with a wooden Wall they ſhould get the better; *Themiſtocles* interpreted *Apollo*'s meaning to be, that all the Citizens ſhould go on Ship-board; which done they obtain'd a Victory over that prodigious Fleet. The ſame Succeſs will attend a Prince, who ſhall embark his Grandeur in the Ship of the Church; for if this by the Teſtimony of

of another Oracle not fabulous and uncertain, but infallible and divine, cannot be ſunk, neither can that which is embark'd in it. For this reaſon your Highneſs's glorious Anceſtors, were us'd to conſecrate part of the Spoils they took in War from their Enemies, to God, as the Lord of Victories who fought for them, offering for his Worſhip very conſiderable Revenues and Poſſeſſions, whence innumerable Foundations and Endowments of Churches, Cathedrals, and Convents, took their riſe; having built in *Spain* above Seventy thouſand Churches. Of which *Samy*, the firſt King of *Arragon*, alone, built a Thouſand, conſecrated to the Bleſſed Virgin, which his Munificence was amply rewarded by the many Conqueſts he made, and Victories he won, having fought Thirty three Battels, in all which he came off victorious. Theſe pious Works were like Religious Colonies, render'd by their Spiritual Arms not leſs powerful than Military ones; for Artillery make not ſo great Breaches as Prayer. The Prayers of the *Iſraelites* for ſeven Days beat down the Walls of *Jericho* (1). Riches are therefore better repoſited in Temples than Treaſuries; not only againſt extream neceſſity, but that as by them Religion flouriſhes, the State may with it. The *Athenians* kept theirs in that of *Delphi*, as did many other Nations. What better Guardian than the Sovereign Arbitrator of Kingdoms? Our Hearts at leaſt will be in the Churches, if our Treaſures are there (2). Wherefore their Council is no leſs impious than imprudent, who under the ſlighteſt pretence of publick Neceſſity are for pillaging them. He is not worthy the Protection of Divine Providence, who diffident of God's Power, upon every accident has his Eye upon the Furniture of his Houſe. When King *Ferdinand* the Holy, wanted Money to carry on the Siege of *Sevil*, and ſome advis'd him to

(1) And the People ſhouted with a great ſhout, that the Wall fell down flat, ſo that the People went up into the City, every Man ſtrait before him, and they took the City, *Joſ.* 6. 20. (2) For where your Treaſure is, there will your Heart be alſo, *Mat.* 6. 21.

ſupply

ſupply the Deficiency of his Exchequer out of the Church-Treaſures. He made anſwer, I promiſe my ſelf more from the Prayers and Sacrifices of the Prieſts, than from their Riches; which Piety and Confidence, God abundantly recompenc'd the very next day by the Surrender of the City. Thoſe Kings, who have done otherwiſe, have left ſevere Examples of their Sacrilegious Preſumption. *Gunderick*, King of the *Vandals*, going to Plunder St. *Vincent's*, fell down dead as he was entring it. The great Misfortunes of *Alphonſo*, King of *Arragon*, were thought to be God's Judgments upon him, for having robb'd his Sacred Houſes. Queen *Uraca* died at the very Door of St. *Iſidore's* at *Leon*, the Treaſures of which ſhe had embeziled. *Sancho*, King of *Arragon*, was ſhot through the Arm with an Arrow, for that he had defil'd his Hands with the Plunder of Churches. And though, in St. *Victoria's* at *Rota*, he publickly confeſs'd his Crime, and with Tears and all imaginable Signs of Contrition, offering Reſtitution and Amendment, yet it pleas'd God to puniſh his Offence in his Puniſhment, as a warning to others. King *John* the Firſt, was routed and kill'd at the Battel of *Aljubanota*, for having made uſe of the Treaſures of the Church of *Guadaloupa*. Upon the Surrender of *Cajeta* to *Frederick*, King of *Naples*, the *French* loaded two Ships with the Plunder of the Churches, both which were loſt.

But in all theſe Caſes, extream neceſſity had not place; for then right Reaſon allows Princes for their Preſervation, to make uſe of ſuch Riches, as out of a pious Liberality themſelves have laid up in theſe Holy Places, provided it be with a Reſolution to reſtore them when the Proſperity of their Affairs ſhall put them in a Capacity. As their Catholick Majeſties, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* did, having obtain'd a Grant from the Parliament of *Medina del Campo*, of the Church-Plate to defray Expences of War. And the Sacred Canons and Councils have preſcrib'd certain Caſes and Circumſtances of Neceſſity or Danger, wherein Eccleſiaſticks

are

are bound to assist the Publick with their Contributions; and certainly 'twould be inexcusable Avarice in them not to regard Common Necessities. They are the most noble and principal Part of a State; and if for them, or for Religion, others are oblig'd to expose their Lives, why not they their Riches? If the State maintains and keeps them, it may very justly expect a reciprocal Relief from them for its Conservation and Defence. The People would be discourag'd from paying Tyths, and other Church Duties if in Common Calamities there were none to ease them of extraordinary Burthens; they will blame their own Piety, and their Zeal and Devotion, for any new Offerings, Donatives, and Legacies to the Church will slacken. 'Tis therefore highly reasonable that the Clergy in Cases of this Nature, aid the Publick with their Revenues, not only for that the danger or benefit equally respects all; but withal, least the Goods and Estates of the Laity be so oppress'd, that Tillage, and with it Tythes, and other pious Works must fail. In such cases, Church-Plate shews better in Bars in the Mint, then in Chalices and Cups in the Vestry.

This Obligation upon the State Ecclesiastical, is more strict in the more urgent necessities of the *Spanish* Kings; for almost all the Foundations and Endowments of Churches being the Effects of their pious Liberality, they are in Justice bound mutually to relieve their Patrons in necessity, and oblige them to continue their Munificence in better times. These, and many other Reasons, have prevail'd with the Apostolick See, to be so liberal to the Kings of *Spain*, in granting them the use of the Church goods, to maintain their Wars against the Infidels. *Gregory* the Seventh granted *Sancho Ramirez* King of *Arragon*, the Tythes and Revenues of all the Churches, either newly built or gain'd from the *Moors*, to dispose of as he pleas'd. The same Grant also Pope *Urban* made to *Peter* the First, King of *Arragon*, his Successors and Grandees of his Kingdom, excepting the Churches of Residence. *Innocent* the Third granted

the Bull of the *Croiſade* for the War of *Spain*, which was call'd the Holy War; which favour, Pope *Calixtus* afterwards in *Henry* the Fourth's time extended both to the living and the dead. *Gregory* the Tenth, gave King *Alphonſus* the Wiſe, the third Part of the Tythes which were deſign'd for Building: This began afterwards to be perpetuated in *John* the Second's Reign; and *Alexander* the Sixth extended it alſo to the Kingdom of *Granada*. *John* the Twenty Second, granted the Tythes of the Church Revenues, and the *Croiſade* to King *Alphonſus* the Eleventh. *Urban* the Fifth, a third Part of the Benefices of *Caſtile* to *Peter* the Cruel. *Sixtus* the Fourth, conſented to have the Clergy contribute at one time an hundred thouſand Ducates for the War of *Granada*; which favour ſeveral other Popes continued. *Julius* the Second, granted *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, the third Part of the Revenue which belong'd to the Church-Building, and the Tythes of all other Eccleſiaſtical Incomes. Theſe Subſidies ought not to be ſpent but in Neceſſities, and for the Publick Uſes, to which they were deſign'd. This Queen *Iſabella* ſo religiouſly obſerv'd, That ſeeing Ninety Millions rais'd by the Croiſade, ſhe immediately commanded they ſhould be employ'd to the very Uſes preſcribed by the Apoſtolick Bulls. Thoſe Favours will ſhine more, and produce better Fruit, when ſo expended. But Neceſſities and Danger uſually confound all things, and eaſily wreſt the Popes meaning to what was not intended.

EMBLEM XXVI.

IT was an impious Opinion, that of those who impudently asserted the Heathens to have had more Courage than the Christians; upon this ground, that their Superstition strengthned their Minds, and render'd them more fierce and manly by the dismal sight of so many bloody Victims, as they offer'd to the Gods in their Sacrifices; and held them only to be Men of Courage and Magnanimity, who got the better of other Nations rather by force than reason: Accusing on the contrary the Institution of our Religion for recommending Humility and Meekness; Virtue is good for nothing but to make Men mean spirited. What an impious and unreasonable Opinion this! The spilling of Blood may indeed make the Mind more barbarous and cruel, more valiant it never can. Fortitude and Magnanimity enter not

not at the Eyes, but are born within the Breast; nor are those the most generous, who are most pleas'd with the Blood and Slaughter of Beasts, or who live on Man's Flesh. Our Religion does not contemn Magnanimity, but rather promotes it, not by proposing to us temporary and corruptible Rewards, as the *Pagan* Superstition does, but eternal ones never to have an end. And if a simple Crown of Lawrel, which begins to fade as soon as gathered, inspired so much Courage then, what won't now that everlasting one of Stars (1)? Is it that the Heathens have exposed themselves to greater Dangers than the Christians? No, for if at any time they assaulted a City, or forc'd a Camp, it was under Shields and Targets. Whereas now Christians must make their way through thick Showers of Bullets, and the Thunder and Lightning of Gunpowder. 'Tis a mistake to imagine Humility and Valour incompatible; they are rather so closely connected, that without the former this is impracticable; nor can true Valour be where there is not Humility, Patience, and in general all other Virtues. For he only is really Valiant that can subdue his Passions, and is free from all Perturbation of Mind; a Study the *Stoicks* have bestow'd much labour on, and after them the Christians with greater success. He makes but a very small progress in it, who suffers himself to be transported with Anger and Pride. This is truly Heroical to conquer ones Lusts and Appetites. The Mind where these Conflicts are, is none of the easiest Fields of Battel; he who has learnt thus much Submission, to bend the Knee to another, will upon occasion easily despise Danger, and with undaunted Resolution submit his Neck to the Ax. The Heathen Religion, 'tis true, has produced many great Commanders, such as were the *Cæsars*, *Scipios*, and abundance of others, but certainly the Christian has furnisht us with no less con-

(1) Now they do it to obtain a corruptible Crown, but we an incorruptible, 1 Cor. 9. 25.

siderable

siderable ones in the Persons of the *Alphonso's* and *Ferdinands* of *Castile*, as well as other Kings of *Arragon*, *Navarre*, and *Portugal*. What Valour could possibly equal that of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth? What great Generals has Antiquity ever celebrated, which have not been equall'd, if not been surpass'd by *Gonzalus Ferdinand* of *Cordova*, *Fernan Cortez*, *Antony de Lieve*, *Ferdinand d'Avalos*, Marquiss of *Pescara*; *Alphonso d'Avalos*, Marquiss of *Guast*; *Alexander Farnese*, Duke of *Parma*; *Andrew d'Oria*, *Alphonso d'Alb'oquerque*, *Ferdinand Alvarez* of *Toledo*, Duke of *Alba*; the Marquisses of *Santta Cruz*; the Earl of *Fuentes*, Marquiss *Spinola*, *Lewis Favardo*, and almost infinite others; as well *Spaniards* as others, never sufficiently to be commended by Fame. To whom may deservedly be applied what St. *Paul* said of those Great Captains, *Gideon*, *Barak*, *Sampson*, *Jephtha*, *David*, and *Samuel*, that by Faith they subdued Kingdoms; waxed valiant in Fight, turn'd to Flight the Armies of the *Aliens* (2.) If we will compare the Victories of the Heathens to those of the Christians, we shall find the latter to have been much the greater. In the Battel of *Navas* were kill'd Two hundred thousand *Moors*, with the loss only of Twenty five on our side; finding the Camp so covered with Spears and Darts, that though the Victors staid there two Days, using no other Fewel but the Wood of them; they could not consume them, even, though they endeavour'd it. There fell more in the Battel of *Salado*, with the loss but of Twenty Christians. And in that Naval Victory, which *Don John* of *Austria* obtain'd over the *Turks* at *Lepanto*, there were no less than an Hundred and eighty Gallies sunk and taken: Which Victories Christians attribute not to their own Valour, but to the True God whom they adore. An Heart confiding in God, as effectually stays an Enemy, as a Hand arm'd with a Sword, as *Judas Ma-*

(2) Heb. 11. 33, 34.

chabaus

chabæus found (3). 'Tis God who governs the Hearts, 'tis he that imparts Courage and Strength, that grants or denies Victories (4). He would be an Impostor, and could not be clear'd from the Imputation of Fraud, were he rather assisting to those who adore false Gods, whose Idolatrous Sacrifices all tend to procure their favour. But if he sometimes also permit them to be Victorious, 'tis not to be ascrib'd to their Devotion, but to other secret Causes of Divine Providence. In the Thirst which the *Roman* Army suffer'd in the War against the *Marcomanni*; God could not be appeas'd with the Prayers and Sacrifices of the Heathen Legions, but when the Tenth compos'd of Christians, at last implor'd his aid, he sent down plentiful Showers to them, but to the Enemy Thunder and Lightning, so that they obtain'd an easy Victory, whence it was afterwards call'd the Thundring Legion. If that Faith were still, it would still work the same effects; but whether through want of that, or for some other secret Ends, God does sometimes permit those to be triumph'd over, who pay him true Adoration; but then the Victory is not a Reward to the Conqueror, but a Chastisement to the Conquered. Let Princes therefore always hold in their Hands the Flag of the Cross, signified by that Sword which *Jeremiah* gave to *Judas Machabæus* to wound his Adversaries withal (5), and on their Arms the Buckler of Religion, and continually before their Eyes, that eternal Fire which went before the *Persian* Monarchs: An Emblem of that other incomprehensible Fire from which the Sun receives its Rays. This is the true Religion which the

(3) So that fighting with their Hands, and praying to God with their Hearts, they slew no less than Thirty and five thousand Men, 2 *Mach.* 15. 27. (4) Least thou say in thine Heart, my Power, and the might of my Hand hath gotten me this Victory. But thou shalt remember the Lord thy God; for it is he that hath given thee power to get wealth, *Deut.* 8. 17, 18. (5) Take this Holy Sword, a Gift from God, with which thou shalt wound the Adversaries, 2 *Mach.* 15. 16.

Soldiers

Soldiers ador'd, as oft as they proſtrated themſelves before the Emperour *Conſtantine*'s Banner: for when the ſhape of a Croſs in the Heavens made by the Sun's light, with this Inſcription, *Thou ſhalt Conquer under this Sign* *, ſeem'd to promiſe him the Victory over *Maxentius*, he commanded a Standard to be made in the ſame Form with that of the preſent Emblem, with the Letters X and P, Cyphers of Chriſt's Name over it, and the Letters *Alpha* and *Omega*, the Emblem of God, the Beginning and End of all things. This Standard the Emperors after him made uſe of, till *Julian* the Apoſtate's time †; and *Don John* of *Auſtria* had on all his Colours embroider'd a Croſs, with this Motto: *With theſe Arms I have conquer'd the* Turks, *and with the ſame I hope to overcome Hereticks* *: King *Alphonſus* the Great put the Words of *Conſtantine*'s Croſs on another ſort of Enſign, which he afterwards offer'd in the Church of *Oviedo*: And of thoſe I have thought fit to make uſe on, as well as *Conſtantine*'s Standard, to form this Emblem, and to imprint on Princes Minds, that Faith and Aſſurance, with which they ought to erect the Standard of Religion againſt their Enemies. At the Battel of *Navas*, a Perſon made way three times through the thickeſt of the Enemy with the Croſs of *Roderigo*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, though all the Darts and Arrows of the *Moors* were aim'd at it, and many ſtuck in the Lance. Angels are the Guards of this Banner; two Angels upon white Horſes, were ſeen to Fight in the Front of the Battel of *Simancas*, when King *Ramiro* the Second, vanquiſh'd the *Moors*; and in that of *Clavigio*, in time of *Ramiro* the Firſt; and alſo in that of *Merida*, under King *Alphonſus* the Ninth, appear'd that Divine Light, the Son of Thunder, St. *Jago*, Patron of *Spain*, on a White Steed carrying Colours diſtinguiſh'd by a Red Croſs. No one ſhall be able to ſtand before you, (ſaid *Joſhua* upon his Death-

* *In hoc ſigno vinces.* Euſeb. l. 9. Hiſt. St. Ambr. Ep. 29. † Gabr. l. 4. Chron. Anno 1572. * Mar. Hiſt of *Spain*.

Bed) if you put your Hope and Confidence in God (6): Your Sword shall Conquer thousands, for he will fight for you (7). The Holy Scriptures are full of Instances of this Divine Assistance. God put the very Stars in array against the *Canaanites* (8). Against the *Amorites* he arm'd the Elements, and rain'd great Stones from Heaven (9). Nor did the faithful need any assistance against the *Madianites*, for the Lord set every Man's Sword against his Fellow (10). Thus, whoever is God's Enemy, brings Vengeance upon his own head.

(6) Josh. 23. 10. (7) Ibid. (8) They fought from Heaven, the Stars in their courses fought against *Sisera*. (9) The Lord cast down great Stones from Heaven upon them to *Azekah*, and they died, *Josh.* 10. 11. (10) Judg. 7. 22.

EMBLEM XXVII.

WHAT, neither Force, nor a close Siege of many Years could do against *Troy*, Fraud at length effected under pretence of Religion, the *Græcians* conveying their Arms into the City within the Body of a Wooden Horse, under pretext of a Vow to *Minerva*. Neither the clattering noise of the Weapons, nor the Advertency of the most prudent Citizens, nor the Consideration that it could not be brought into the City but by a Breach, nor that of its being to continue within the Walls a considerable time, were sufficient to open the Peoples Eyes, and to discover the Treachery: Of such Influence is Religion. This *Scipio Africanus*, *Sylla*, *Sertorius*, *Minos*, *Pisistratus*, *Lycurgus*, and many others, have advantageously made use of to authorize their Laws, and impose upon the People.

The *Phœnicians* coming into *Spain*, built, where *Medina Sidonia* now ſtands, a Temple in the Form of a Fortreſs dedicated to *Hercules*, ſaying, That they were ſo commanded in a Dream. The *Spaniards* believ'd that to be Devotion which was Stratagem, that to be Piety which was a Trick, whereby religiouſly to enſlave and plunder the People. By means of another Temple on the promontory *Dianæ*, (now *Denia*) the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Zante* conceal'd the Deſign they had of bringing *Spain* under their Subjection. King *Siſenand* having depos'd *Swinthila*, to ſecure to himſelf the Crown, call'd a Provincial Synod of about Seventy Biſhops, under Colour of making new Laws for regulating Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline which time had corrupted; whereas his chief and real Deſign was to get *Swinthila* depos'd, and himſelf unthron'd by a Decree of theſe Fathers, the better to ſatisfy the People. Which very Artifice *Ervigius* made uſe of to confirm his Election, and the Abdication of King *Wamba*. Malice well knows what effect Religion has on Mens minds, and therefore makes that the principal Inſtrument to execute its Deſigns, which eaſily impoſe upon the ſimple Vulgar, who, poor Souls, not being able to penetrate all their ends, believe their only tendency is to render God propitious, to make him proſper their Temporal Affairs here, and reward them Eternally hereafter. What nauſeous Deluſions have Nations ſwallow'd when gilt with Religion, miſerably abandoning themſelves to Superſtition? What ſervile and barbarous Cuſtom has not that introduc'd, to the prejudice of Liberty, Life, and Fortune? Let Princes therefore be upon their Guard, in theſe times particularly, when Policy puts on the Maſk of Piety, and not eaſily admit thoſe Stalking-horſes of Religion, which have ruined not only Cities, but whole Countries and Kingdoms. For, if under that Title, Ambition and Avarice creep in, and the People be oppreſs'd, they will renounce God's eaſy Yoak, and will look upon this Natural and Divine Law of Religion to be nothing but a piece of State Policy; and that Princes

Princes under that Veil conceal their Methods to keep Subjects in Allegiance, and ſtrip them of their Fortunes. Let Princes therefore throughly examine, whether the Novelty introduc'd be really upon the account of Religion, or meerly a ſpecious pretence to the prejudice of their Power and Authority, to the detriment of their Subjects, or the Publick Peace; which they may find out by the ends it propoſes, by obſerving to what ſuch Innovations tend, whether to Intereſt or Ambition, whether they conduce to the Spiritual Good or not; or if this can't be procur'd by other means leſs prejudicial. In ſuch caſes an Evil is with leſs danger prevented than afterwards remedied; and the only means to prevent it, is not to give place to theſe Pretexts and Abuſes; however, if they be already introduc'd, they ought to be corrected with all the mildneſs imaginable, not raſhly, nor with Violence or extream Rigour; eſpecially, if the Caſe fall not under the Prince's Juriſdiction; but with extraordinary addreſs, having due reſpect to the Perſons, under whoſe Cognizance it falls (1), laying before them the truth of the thing, and the ill Conſequences and Inconveniences of it. For if the Secular Prince attempt to do it by force, and thoſe Abuſes ſhould be eſtabliſh'd into a Cuſtom among the People, they will interpret this Violence to be Impiety in the Prince, and rather obey the Prieſts than him: On the other ſide, if they ſee the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power diſagree, they will throw off all Obedience, and emboldened by the declared Will of the Prince, they will make an Inſurrection againſt Religion it ſelf, and be inſenſibly induc'd to believe, the Inconveniencies of theſe Contentions extend even to the Subſtance of Religion, which will eaſily bring them to change their Opinions, and that too. And by this means, the Prince being engag'd in Civil Broils and Diſſentions with the Clergy, and the People in new

(1) For the Prieſt's Lips ſhould keep knowledge, and they ſhould ſeek the Law at his Mouth, *Malach.* 2. 7.

Opinions, all respect for things Sacred will cease, and Errors arise upon the Eclipse of that Divine Luminary which before enlighten'd and united their Minds; which is the scource of the Ruin of many Princes, and of the Revolutions of States (2). Great prudence is requisite to govern the People in such matters, for 'tis equally obvious for them to despise them, which is impious; and to be over credulous in them, which is Superstition; this last most frequently happens, in that their Ignorance is presently taken with appearances of Devotion, and new Opinions, before Reason has had time to examine them; wherefore 'tis very necessary gradually to remove from them all occasions of Ruin, those particularly which usually arise from frivolous Disputations about too subtle Points, such as very little, if at all promote Religion, not suffering them to be defended or printed; otherwise they will be divided into Factions, and every one's maintaining his own Opinions with as much Heat and Obstinacy, as if they were Matter of Faith, may occasion no less Disturbances, than even a difference of Religions, or a Toleration of them. It was an Apprehension of this made *Tiberius* forbid the Books of the Sibyls to be seen, whose Prophecies might cause Seditions (3). In the Acts of the Apostles we read, that the Books which contain'd idle Curiosities were burnt (4).

An appearance often miserably deludes the Common People, who blindly follow any Superstitious Devotions with a Submission wholly effeminate, which renders them Melancholy, Cowardly, and very Slaves to their own Imaginations; which debase their Spirits, and prompt them to idle away their time in Convents and Pilgrimages, where oft-times many Abuses and Vices are committed. This is an Infirmity of the Vul-

(2) *Nulla res multitudinem efficacius regit, quam superstitio.* Curtius. (3) *Censuit Asinius Gallus, ut libri Sibyllini adiverentur, vetuit Tiberius, perinde divina humanaque obtegens.* Tac. 1. Ann. (4) Many of them also which us'd curious Arts, brought their Books together, and burnt them before all Men, *Acts* 19. 19.

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gar, and not a little prejudicial to the Truth of Religion, and the Publick Safety; and unleſs nipp'd in the Bud, creates great Inconveniencies and Dangers, being a kind of folly that under the appearance of Good does every thing hand over head, following new Notions of Religion, and deviliſh Inventions. Some Submiſſion is requiſite, but that without baſe and ſlaviſh Bigottry; ſuch I mean as has Virtue in eſteem, abhors Vice, and holds Labour and Obedience to be more agreeable to God and the Prince, than Convents and Pilgrimages, this Devotion being uſually celebrated with Banquets, Balls, and Plays; like that of the People of *Iſrael* at the Conſecration of the Molten Calf (5).

But if the People once begin to be too opinionative in Matters of Religion, and to introduce any Innovations in it, immediate Remedy muſt be apply'd, and the ill Seed be routed out before it take Root and ſpread farther, ſo as to grow into a Body too powerful for the Prince, againſt whom they may afterwards, if he refuſe to conform to their Opinion, contrive ſome pernicious Innovation in the Government (6). And though the Underſtanding be free, and without deſtroying its liberty can't be conſtrain'd to believe, and ſo it may ſeem to belong peculiarly to God Almighty to puniſh thoſe who have unworthy Sentiments of him (7); yet, would it be of very ill conſequence to commit the Deciſion of the ſublimeſt Myſteries of Faith to the blind and ignorant Mob: 'Tis therefore

(5) And they aroſe up early on the morrow, and offered burnt offerings, and burnt peace-offerings; and the People ſat down to eat, and to drink, and roſe up to play, *Exod.* 32. 6. (6) *Eos vero qui in divinis aliquid innovant, odio habe, & coerce, non Deorum ſolum cauſâ (quos tamen qui contemnit, nec aliud ſane magni fecerit) ſed quia nova quædam numina hi tales introducentes, multos impellunt ad mutationem rerum, unde Conjurationes, Seditiones, Conciliabula exiſtunt, res profectò minimè conducibiles Principatui.* Dion. (7) *Deorum injuriæ Diis curæ.* Tac. 1. Ann.

infinitely requisite to oblige Subjects to think, as the Ancient *Germans* did, that there is more Sanctity and Reverence in believing than knowing things Divine (8). What monstrous Errors were a Kingdom obnoxious to, if each man were allow'd to be a Judge in Matters of Religion? Hence the *Romans* were so careful in Prohibiting the Exercise of any new Religion (9), and *Claudius* thought the Foreign Superstitions a sufficient Subject for complaint to the Senate (10). But if Malice have already got footing, and Punishment be too weak to resist the Multitude, 'tis necessary that Discretion perform the part of Fire and Sword: For obstinacy in Faults sometimes increases by an untimely Application of Remedies too violent; nor does Reason always surrender to Force. King *Ricaredus* by dexterously adapting himself to the times, now dissembling, now flattering, brought his Subjects to renounce *Arianism*, and to return to the Catholick Church.

Great Men have anciently made use of Superstition (as we have before intimated) to authorize their Laws, animate their People, and keep them in Subjection and Obedience; to this end they feigned Dreams and Divine Revelations, and pretended to have private Conference with the Gods; but although these Artifices extreamly influence the simple People, whose Superstitious Humour is easily affected with things that have an appearance Supernatural: 'Tis not however allowable for Princes to delude them with counterfeit Miracles, and a false shew of Religion. Of what use is the Shadow, where one may enjoy the Light it self? To what purpose those Divine imaginary Prodigies of Heaven, since it gives, as we see, so many real ones

(8) *Sanctius, ac reverentius visum, de aliis Deorum credere, quam scire.* Tac. de Mor. Germ. (9) *Neque nisi Romani Dei, nec quo alio more, quam patrio colerentur.* T. Liv. (10) *Quia externæ superstitiones pulsarentur.* Tac. 11. Ann.

to

to those who with a firm Faith and Assurance expect them from Divine Providence? How can an infinitely Just God give success to these Arts which seem to call in question his Care and Concern for things here below, that counterfeit his Omnipotence, and ascribe to him what he is not the Author of? What certainty in Religion can the People promise themselves, if they see it wrested to serve the particular Ends of Princes, and that 'tis nothing but a Veil with which they cover their Designs, and give Truth the lye? That Policy is certainly very unsafe, that is cloak'd with Fraud, very weak and tottering, that is supported by contrivance.

EMBLEM. XXVIII.

PRudence is the Rule and Meaſure of Virtues, without that theſe degenerate into Vices. Wherefore as other Virtues have theirs in the Appetite, this has its reſidence in the Intellect, from thence preſiding over them all. *Agatho* calls it a great Goddeſs. This it is which conſtitutes the three Forms of Government, Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, and Democracy, and aſſigns each of them their Parts conformed to the Subjects Nature, having its Eyes always intent upon their Preſervation as the principal end of Politicks. Prudence is the State's Anchor, the Prince's Compaſs. Where this Virtue fails, the very Soul of Government is wanting. *'Tis this*, (ſays King *Alphonſus*) *which makes us ſee things as they are, and judge what they may be, making us act therein decently, without Tumult and Precipitation.*

'Tis

'Tis the peculiar Virtue of Princes (1), and that which above all others renders a Man compleat, which makes Nature ſo ſparing in her Diſpenſations of it; having given many great Wit and Capacity, very few great Prudence; for defect of which, the more eminent Men are in Dignity, the more dangerous is their Government; for as much as they eaſily tranſgreſs the limits of Reaſon, and are ruined; beſides, that one of Command requires a clear Judgment to diſcern all things as they are in themſelves, to weigh and give each thing its juſt value. This nice Examination is of very great conſequence in Princes, and as Nature contributes much to it, ſo does Obſervation and Experience more.

The Virtue of Prudence conſiſts of ſeveral Parts reducible to theſe three Heads; the Memory of paſt, the Knowledge of preſent, and the Proſpect of future times. All theſe differences of time are repreſented in this Emblem, by a Serpent, the Emblem of Prudence, upon an Hour-Glaſs, which repreſents Time preſent, winding it ſelf about a Scepter, and viewing it ſelf in the two Glaſſes of paſt and future; with this Verſe of *Virgil*, tranſlated from *Homer*, including all three, for the Motto:

What are, what were, and what ſhall come to paſs.

which Prudence looking into regulates, and compoſes all its Actions.

Theſe three Times are the Mirror of Government, in which by obſerving the paſt as well as preſent Errors and Miſcarriages, it dreſſes and beautifies it ſelf by private and acquired Experience: Of the former I treat in another place. The acquir'd is either attain'd by Converſation or Hiſtory. Converſation is very beneficial, though ſomething more limitted, being appre-

(1) *Nam rectè diſponere, rectèque judicare, qui poteſt, is eſt Princeps & imperator.* Menand.

handed

hended with leſs difficulty, abundantly more ſatisfactory of all Doubts and Queſtions, and conſequently more improving. Hiſtory is a general Repreſentation of all the Ages of the World, and by the benefit of that the Memory recals the Time of our Anceſtors. The faults of thoſe who were, inſtruct them that now are. Wherefore 'tis neceſſary that the Prince ſearch for true Friends, ſuch as will relate with ſincerity things both paſt and preſent: And ſince they are, as *Alphonſus*, King of *Naples* and *Arragon*, us'd to ſay, Like Hiſtories that neither flatter, nor conceal, or diſſemble the Truth; let him admit them particularly into his Council, carefully obſerving the neglects and failings of his Predeceſſors; by what Tricks they have been put upon; the Court Artifices; the inteſtine and foreign Ills of Kingdoms; and examine whether he be not in danger of the ſame. Time is the beſt Maſter of Princes. Paſt Ages are a kind of Hoſpitals, where Policy Anatomizes the Carcaſſes of Monarchies and Commonwealths which once flouriſhed, thereby the better to cure the Ails of the preſent. They are the Sea-Charts, wherein by the Wrecks, or proſperous Navigations of others, Shores are diſcover'd. Seas ſounded, Sands and Rocks found, and all the Lines of Government marked out; yet, are not all Books good Counſellors; for ſome advance Knavery and Deceit, which becauſe more practiſed than truth, many have recourſe to (2). The moſt ſecure are thoſe dictated by Divine Wiſdom. Here a Prince hath for all manner of Accidents, a compleat Syſtem of Politicks, and ſafe Precepts to govern himſelf and others by (3). For this reaſon, the Kings of *Iſrael* were commanded to have always by them, the Book of *Deuteronomy*, and to read ſome part

(2) Who ſeek Wiſdom upon Earth, the Merchants of *Merrhan* and *Theman*, the Authors of Fables, and Searchers out of Underſtanding; none of theſe have known the way of Wiſdom, or remember her Paths, *Baruch* 3. v. 23. (3) All Scripture is given by Inſpiration of God, and is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Inſtruction in Righteouſneſs, 2 *Tim.* 3. 16.

of

of it every day (4). 'Tis God we hear, him we learn of as often as we turn over those Divine Oracles. The Emperor *Alexander Severus*, had always near him Persons well vers'd in History, to tell him what other Emperors had done in dubious Matters (5).

With this Study of History, your Royal Highness may securely enter the dangerous Sea of Government, having the experience of things past for a Pilot to Steer you in the Conduct of those present, both which your Highness ought to manage, so as to keep your Eyes fixt on Futurity, still looking forwards to prevent dangers, at least to render them less injurious (6). According to these Aspects of Times, your Highness's Prudence ought to judge of things to come, not by those of the Planets, which being few in number, and having their Motions stated and regular, cannot possibly (though there were some Virtue in them) foretel such variety of Events, as fortune produces, or free-will prepares. Nor are Speculation and Experience sufficient, whereupon to ground any certain knowledge of Causes so remote. Let your Highness therefore be pleas'd to cast your Eyes on the times past, from *Ferdinand* the Catholick, to *Philip* the Second, and comparing them with those that have pass'd from thence till now; consider whether *Spain* be now as well-peopled, as rich and plentiful as then; whether Arts and Arms flourish as much; whether Trade and Husbandry succeed as well; and if your Highness find it to have fail'd in any of these particulars, dissect the whole Body, search into its Arteries and Parts, the sound and entire as well as the distemper'd; as also into the Causes of those Infirmities: Consider with your self, whether they do not proceed from some of those so ordinary ones; from planting Colonies, want of Propagation,

(4) And he shall read therein all the days of his Life, *Deut.* 17. 19. (5) *Præficiebat rebus literatos, & maximè qui historiam norant, requirans ad in talibus causis, quales in disceptatione versabantur, veteres imperatores fecissent.* Lamp. (6) She knoweth things of old, and conjecteth aright what is to come, *Wisd.* 8, 8.

multiplicity

multiplicity of Religious Orders, too many Feſtivals, Univerſities, and Studies, the Diſcovery of the *Indies*, Peace ill manag'd, War ſlightly undertaken, or negligently carried on, from the Caſhiering of Officers, the Rarity of Recompences, the Oppreſſion of Uſury, the Tranſportation of Money, the Diſproportion of the Coin, or whatever Cauſes of the like Nature. If your Highneſs ſhall diſcover the Fountain from whence the Evil proceeds, it will be no difficult matter to provide a Remedy againſt it; and from a competent knowledge of the paſt and preſent Times, your Highneſs will be enabled to make an eſtimate of that to come, for there is no new thing under the Sun; the thing that hath been, it is that which ſhall be; and that which is done, is that which ſhall be done (7). The Perſons are chang'd not the Scenes, Manners and Cuſtoms are always the ſame.

After the Converſation of Books, it will be very much for a Prince's Improvement to have that of learned Men, who are daily converſant with them, and will entertain his Ear with well digeſted Diſcourſes and Reaſonings, the reſult of long Premeditation. This gave occaſion to that uſual ſaying of *John* the Second, King of *Portugal*, That a Kingdom either found a Prince prudent, or made him ſo. That is, the great School of Government, wherein Miniſters of the greateſt Learning and moſt eminent Experience, whether Domeſtick or Foreign, converſe with the Prince about Affairs. Here one is in conſtant Exerciſe, and has a particular knowledge almoſt of whatever is tranſacted in the World. This School being more eſpecially neceſſary for a Prince, teaches him, if not out of Duty, at leaſt for Learning's ſake to apply himſelf to Affairs, and ſtudy fully to underſtand, and go to the bottom of them, and not leave them to the Deciſion of his Councellors. For by an entire neglect and diſuſe of Buſineſs, the Mind becomes Savage, and

(7) Eccleſ. 1. 9.

conceits

conceives an Averſion for it, as an intolerable weight, and ſo chuſes to leave all to the Care and Induſtry of others. And if their Opinion upon any Subject be afterwards told him, he is in the dark, not being able to diſcern whether they have determined well or ill; in which Confuſion he muſt neceſſarily be aſhamed of himſelf, ſeeing how like a dumb Idol he is, to whom Adoration is paid, while another renders the Oracles. For this reaſon, the Prophet *Zachary* calls that Prince an Idol, who like a Shepherd that leaveth his Flock, forgets his Duty (8). He is a Statue which repreſents, but does not exert Majeſty. He has a Mouth and ſpeaks not; Eyes and Ears, but neither ſees nor hears (9). And being generally look'd upon to be an Idol of Adoration only, not Miracles, is univerſally deſpis'd as an unprofitable Burthen to the Earth (10). Nor will it be eaſy for him to retrieve his Credit; for Affairs out of which he might draw ſome Experience, will glide away like Waters that never return; and not knowing where the Web of Affairs begins, 'tis impoſſible he ſhould finiſh it with ſucceſs.

To avoid theſe and the like Inconveniences, it is abſolutely requiſite for the Prince at the beginning of his Reign to apply himſelf to the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, that by uſe he may gradually learn the Art of Government. For though they at firſt ſeem terrible and difficult, Ambition and the Glory which may be expected thence, will afterwards make them pleaſant and delightful. Let not fear of doing amiſs be any obſtacle to him, for there's no Prudence ſo infallible but it may ſometimes err. From Errors proceeds Experience, and from thence the beſt Maxims of Government. And if at any time he happens to be in one, let this thought comfort him, that 'tis ſometimes

(8) Wo to the idle Shepherd that leaveth his Flock, *Zach.* 11. 17. (9) They have Mouths, but they ſpeak not; Eyes have they, but they ſee not; Ears have they, but they hear not; Noſes have they, but they ſmell not, *Pſalm* 115. 5. (10) We know that an Idol is nothing in the World, 1 *Cor.* 8. 4.

leſs

leſs dangerous to miſcarry himſelf, than ſucceed by another; for this the People carp and cavil at, the former they eaſily bear with. A Prince's Obligation conſiſts only in being deſirous, and uſing his utmoſt endeavours to ſucceed, admitting Inſtruction and Counſel without Pride and Preſumption, that Mother of Error and Ignorance. Power is born with Princes, Wiſdom not: If they will but hear, they will know how to Govern. *Solomon* owning what a Child he was to judge God's People, prayed for a docile and underſtanding Heart (11), thinking that ſufficient to make him capable of ſucceſsfully diſcharging his Duty. A zealous and well-meaning Prince, God leads as 'twere by the Hand, leaſt he ſhould at any time make a falſe Step in the Government of his States.

(11) Give therefore thy Servant an underſtanding heart to judge thy People, that I may diſcern between good and bad, 1 *Kings* 3. 9.

EMBLEM XXIX.

SOME Fishermen, once in the Island *Chios*, casting their Nets into the Sea for Fish, drew out a *Tripos*, which was a kind of Vessel made for the Service of the Altar, or (as others will have it) a round three legg'd Table, an admirable Work, and of an inestimable Value, not so much for the matter, though it was of Gold, as because of the Artist *Vulcan*. This kindled Avarice in them, and all the other Fishers of that Island, who in vain often threw theirs with the same hopes. How often have the happy Successes of one Prince deceiv'd himself and others, while they all endeavour to attain the same Fortune by the same Means? 'tis not so easy to follow another's Steps, or to go ones own over again, so as to tread always exactly in the same Tracks. A small space of time joyn'd with so great a Variety

of Accidents effaces the first, and whatsoever impressions are made afresh, are quite different, and consequently lead not to the same end. *Alexander* the Great has had many Followers and Imitators, who although nothing inferior to him in all Accomplishments, both of Body and Mind, yet could never arrive to so high a pitch of Glory and Success, at least have not met with that Applause. To be good is in our Power, but to appear so to others is not. Fortune sports with us even in Matters of Fame, nor does the same Success always correspond to the same Action. What befel *Saguntum*, did also happen to *Ephesa*, yet of this there scarce remains any Memory. This little City, forsooth, deserv'd not so much Glory; for what is scarce taken notice of in small, in great ones is often highly extoll'd. The same thing is usual in Virtues; the same shall create one Prince a good, another an ill Character; this is the Times and Subjects. If the Nobility be unruly, the Commonalty dissolute and licentious; the Prince that tries to reduce them to Reason, will not escape the name of bad. Every Kingdom would have a Prince of its own Stamp. Whence 'tis, that though a Prince govern by the same good Methods, as have in others Government been applauded, yet shall he not be so well receiv'd, nor equally commended, except the Subjects of both be alike good.

2 Hence 'tis not without danger, for a Prince to be wholly guided by Examples, it being very difficult, if not absolutely impossible, that in any one Case there should be an equal Concurrence of all those very Circumstances which are in another. These Second Causes of the Celestial Orbs turn round continually, and form each Day new Aspects of Constellations, by which they produce their Effects, and the Changes of Things: And as the Stars once appearing never return exactly in the same manner again, so neither have they the like Operations upon things here below, and by the Variation of some Accidents, the Successes too are varied, in which Chance has sometimes more Efficacy

than

than Prudence. Others Examples in my Opinion deceive Princes no less than to follow none at all. Wherefore what has happened to others deserves Consideration, to establish a prudent Policy; not that all its Maxims should be squared by their Rule, and that exposed to the Hazard and Uncertainty of Casualties. Others Events are to be an Instruction not a Law (1). Those Examples alone can be imitated with any Assurance, that result from Causes and Reasons essentially good, and common to the Law of Nature, and that of Nations, for they are at all times the same. As also those of such Princes as have preserved themselves in Credit and Honour by Religion, Justice, and Clemency, and other Virtues and Moral Actions. Yet in these Cases too careful Attention is required, for Manners, and the Reputation of Virtues often change, nor is it new or unusual for a Prince to be ruined by the same, that at another time made him flourish. All these things therefore Prudence ought to consider, and not put too much Confidence in its self, but consult the various Accidents that every day happen, not looking upon things to come as certain, however discreet Judgment and Diligence seem to have search't and provided against them. For Events are not always correspondent to their means, nor do they at all times depend upon the ordinary Connexion of Causes, where Humane Counsels usually take Effect, but on that superior Cause which directs all other. This makes our Thoughts and Suppositions so uncertain, and the hopes founded thereon so subject to Disappointment. No one was in all Mens Opinion farther from the Empire, than *Claudius*, yet Heaven had then design him for *Tiberius*'s Successor (2).

This is more common in the Election of Popes, wherein humane Industry is very often baffled. Di-

(1) *Plures aliorum eventis docentur.* Tac. 4 Ann. (2) *Quippe fato, ut ipse, veneratione potius omnes destinabantur Imperio, quam quem futurum Principem fortuna in occulto tenebat.* Tac. 3. Ann.

vine Providence does not always use natural Means, at least sometimes produces by the same different Effects, drawing streight Lines by a crooked Rule, so what should have been advantageous, proves frequently prejudicial to the Prince. The same Pillar of Fire in the Wilderness gave Light to God's People, and filled the Enemies Camp with Darkness. The greatest Humane Prudence is oftentimes at a loss; where a Man expected Security, he sometimes finds Ruin, as it happened to *Viriatus*, who was betrayed and killed by those very Ambassadors he had sent to the Consul, *Servilius*. A Misfortune we have once sustained, we don't easily believe we shall suffer again; but on the contrary, presently persuade our selves Prosperity will continue, or at least return. This Confidence has been destructive to many in that it disarms Prudence. This World is a vast Sea of Events, tossed by various and unknown Causes. Let us not be too much elated, if by chance we bring our Nets to Shore full with the Success of our Wishes; nor on the other side, dejected if they prove empty; we ought always to cast them, and expect the Consequence with the same equality of Mind. 'Tis impossible for that Man to enjoy any Rest, who promising himself a prosperous Issue of his Design, sees a contrary Event, and is destitute of a Remedy for it. Misfortunes cannot surprize one that expects the worst, nor will disappointed Hopes expose him to Ridicule, as they did the *Persians* in the War against the *Athenians*, who had a great while before furnished themselves with Marble from *Paros* to inscribe the Victory on, which their hopes had long ago anticipated; but being afterwards overcome, the *Athenians* made use of that very Marble to erect to Revenge a Statue, an everlasting Monument of the *Persian* Folly. To presume to know things to come, is in a manner a Rebellion against God, and a foolish Contention with Divine Wisdom, which has indeed permitted Human Prudence to guess at, but not foretel things of this Nature, that in this uncertainty of Accidents it may acknowledge it self more subject

so,

to, and dependent on its Creator. This makes Policy ſo cautious and provident in its Reſolutions, well knowing how ſhort ſighted the greateſt Humane Wiſdom is in Futurity, and how uncertain thoſe Judgments are, which are grounded upon Preſumption. If Princes could foreſee future Contingences, their Councils would not ſo often miſcarry. And this I take to be the Reaſon, that as ſoon as *Saul* was elected King, God infuſed into him the Spirit of Prophecy (3).

From what hath been ſaid, may be gathered, that although Antiquity be venerable, and there be really ſomething Royal in the ways ſhe hath opened to Poſterity, for Experience to paſs more ſecurely; yet 'tis viſible many are ruined by time, ſo that they grow impaſſable; and conſequently the Prince ought not to be ſo diffident of himſelf, ſo religiouſly to tread his Anceſtors Steps, as not upon occaſion to venture to go another way of his own. Innovations are not always dangerous; it is ſometimes convenient to introduce them. Were there no Alterations, the World would never be perfected, which advances in Wiſdom as it does in Age. The moſt ancient Cuſtoms were new. And what we now ſee without Example, will be hereafter a Precedent. What we now follow by Experience, was begun without it. Our Age alſo may leave many glorious Inventions for Poſterity to imitate; nor is every thing the Ancients have done the beſt, no more than all the Moderns do now, will be approved by After-ages. Many Abuſes have deſcended to us from our Anceſtors, and many ſevere Savage Cuſtoms of the Ancients time has mitigated and changed for the better.

(3) 1 Sam. 10. 6.

EMBLEM XXX.

INgenious *Rome*, that Virtue and Valour might not want Trophies to Honour and Recompence Conquerors, excite Emulation in Posterity, and give Example to her other Citizens, invented the *Columnæ Rostratæ*, Pillars whereon were hung the Heads of such Ships, as returned Victorious after long Voyages, thus eternizing the Memory of Sea-fights; one of which Monuments was raised to the Consul *Duillius*, for the signal Victory he obtained over the *Carthaginians*; as also to *Marcus Æmilius* for another. This Trophy gave occasion to the present Emblem, wherein the strength and firmness of the Pillar represents Wisdom, and the Heads of the Ships that had run through so many Perils upon the Ocean, Experience, the Mother of Prudence and Support of that Wisdom. This has things universal

universal and perpetual for its Object, that particular Actions. The one is acquired by Speculation and Study; the other (which is an Habit of the Mind) by the Knowledge of Good and Evil, and by Use and Exercise; both jointly make a perfect Prince, one alone is not sufficient. Whence it easily appears how dangerous the Government of those is, who are addicted only to the Contemplation of Sciences, and a Solitary Life, for such want generally Use and Practice, and so can profit little by their Actions, they being either rash, or mean and abject; especially if they be transported with Excess of Fear or Zeal. Their Discourses, indeed, and Writings (wherein more of a speculative than practical Genius reigns) may be serviceable to the Prince to awaken his Mind, and furnish him with Matter for Conversation, provided they be seasonably used, and with Experience. Physick prescribes Remedies for Diseases, which however the Physician never applies without first examining the Qualities of the Distemper, the Nature and Constitution of his Patient. Had *Hannibal* by this Consideration moderated his barbarous Arrogance, he had not took *Phormio* for a Fool, for teaching the Art of War, when himself was no Soldier; for although Speculation alone does by no means acquire Practice, it being extreamly difficult for the Hand to Copy accurately all that the Mind has drawn, or for whatever the Imagination has proposed to be accomplished to the Eyes Satisfaction; especially when War depends upon such a Variety of Accidents that Experience her self sometimes knows not what is to be done. Yet, for all this, *Phormio* might have given *Hannibal* (as great and experienced a General as he was) such Precepts as would have taught him to correct his treacherous and subtle Nature, to leave off his Cruelty to conquered Nations, and proud Carriage to such as had recourse to him for Protection. He undoubtedly had learnt to make a better Use of the Victory at *Cannæ*, to shun the De-

baucheries of *Capua*, and gain the Favour of *Antiochus*. King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, used on some Occasions the Ministery of the Religious; but whether to manage or only prepare Affairs, I can't say; or if it was not, perhaps to spare the Expence of Ambassies, or prevent the Inconveniences usually arising from Disputes between the Nobility about Precedency. However Secrets are not securely intrusted to them, they depending more upon the Obedience of their immediate Superiors, than that of Princes; and if they accidentally die, into their Hands will fall all private Letters and Papers. Besides, for Neglect of Duty they are not punishable, and their Example is a Disturbance to Religious Tranquility, and the Practices of Policy infect their Candor and Simplicity. They are better Physicians for Spiritual than Temporal Distempers. Every Sphere has its peculiar Activity. I don't in the mean time deny that sometimes there are to be found among them, Persons who have had their Education in Courts, without that Narrowness of Soul which usually accompanies a monastick and retired Life, Wits so cultivated by Learning and Observation, that Affairs even of the greatest Consequence may be safely committed to them, especially such as respect the Publick Quiet, and the Good of Christendom; for Modesty in Conversation, well ordered Virtues, the Gravity of, and Deference paid to a Religious Habit, are no small Recommendations in Prince's Courts to gain Audience, and prepare Minds to receive Impressions.

Experiences drawn from others Misfortunes and Dangers, are indeed happy, but not so effectually persuasive as our own; the former we see or hear only; these we sensibly feel too. They are too deeply engraved, as I may say, on our Breasts to be soon effaced. Shipwrecks descried from Shoar, are something more affecting than anothers Relation of them; but he who has had the Fortune to escape them,

hangs

hangs up his Rudder in the Temple of Experience for a perpetual Memorial of it. So that though a Prince will improve by both, yet his own private ones he ought most to regard, particularly observing this, that if they proceed from any fault, Self-love is too apt to excuse them; and that Truth late or never comes to his Ears to undeceive him, being either stopped in the Palace-Gates by Malice, or concealed by Flattery, which makes Virtue not dare to unmask it for fear of bringing it self into Danger, because it belongs not to it, or at least it sees all would be to no purpose. And thus Princes ignorant of what neglect they have been guilty, how and where they have done amiss in their Councils or Actions, cannot correct their Errors, nor by their Experience prove more cautious and prudent for the future. There ought to be no Fault committed, no Miscarriage happen in the State, whereof there should not be present faithful and sincere Information given the Prince. There's no Sensation or Pain in any part of the Body, but immediately is carried to the Heart, as the Prince of Life, where the Soul has its chief Residence, and as that whose principal Interest it is to preserve the other Members intire. How happy were it, if Kings well knew what Evils their Kingdoms laboured under, we should not see them so inveterate. Whereas the only thing now aimed at in Courts, is to divert the Prince's Ears with Musick, and such like Entertainments, that he may not hear his Subjects Complaints, nor say with *Saul*, *What aileth the People that they weep* (1)? And so he is ignorant of their Necessities and Calamities, at least knows them too late. Though the Adventure of *Jonas*, whom a great Fish had vomited up alive, was very fresh; though his Publick Cries made a Noise over the whole City of *Nineveh*,

(1) 1 Sam. 11. 5.

whose

whoſe Deſtruction he threatned within forty Days; yet was the King the laſt that heard of it, every Citizen, from the greateſt to the leaſt, having already mourned, and put on ſackcloath (2). Who is there has the Courage to tell a Prince the whole Truth, or diſcover the Evils that menace him? The whole Army of *Bethulia* came to *Holofernes*'s Tent with great Cries, becauſe the Sun was already riſen, yet did not the Officers of the Bed-Chamber dare to awake him, nor call him by his Name (3), but made only a Noiſe with their Feet; till when the Evidence of the Danger obliged them to enter, the Enemy had already cut off his Head and hung it upon their Walls (4). Thus it generally happens, the Prince firſt diſcovers Faults, when there's either no Remedy for them, or at leaſt it cannot be applied without great Difficulty. His Miniſters perſwade him all things ſucceed well, which makes him negligently loſe all Experience, and the Inſtructions of Neceſſity, the beſt Miſtreſs of Prudence. For although Proſperity proceed from Prudence, this does not from Proſperity. The principal Office of Prudence in Princes, or others concerned with them, is to teach them to know experimentally all Mens Humours, which are diſcernible from the Dreſs, the Looks, the Motions of the Eyes and Actions, and laſtly from the Speech. Marks which God Almighty thought ſo neceſſary to Humane Commerce, that he has wrote them viſibly upon every one's Forehead (5). Without them neither the Prince would know how to Govern, nor Men of Affairs obtain their Ends. Mens Minds are as various as their Faces (6); and although Reaſon be in its ſelf one and the ſame, the ways reaſoning take in the reſearch of it, are widely different; and the

(2) Jon. 3. 5. (3) Judith 14. 10. (4) Ibid. (5) Eccl. 19. 26. (6) Eccl. 19. 27.

Deluſions

Delusions of the Imagination usually are so great, that some Men appear as irrational as the very Brutes. Wherefore all are not to be treated with in the same Method, but this must be varied, suitably to the Person's Nature, as they change the Bit according to the Horse's Mouth. Some Tempers are generous and exalted, with these Reputation and Honour are most prevailing: Others mean and abject, which are wholly lead by private Interest and Advantage. Some are bold and enterprizing, these are to be gently turned from the Precipice: Others slothful and timorous, which should be so lead by Business, that they may see the Vanity of Danger. Some are naturally servile, these Threats and Fear of Punishment has more Influence on than Intreaties: Others arrogant, and are tamed by Authority, being by compliance ruined. One is full of Fire, and so quick at Business, that with the same Expedition he dispatches it, he immediately repents; this Man 'tis hard giving Counsel to: Another is slow and irresolute, whom time must teach at his own cost. Some are ignorant and stupid, these are not to be convinced by subtle and refined Arguments, but palpable Demonstrations. Others sceptically dispute every thing, and are guilty of an Excess of Subtilty, these must be abandoned to themselves, to fly as Hawks till they be tired, then called to the Lure of Reason, and the Business in hand. Some refuse all Mens Counsel, are wholly guided by their own; to these you are not to give any, but so point as it were to them, and give such Hints in a large Discourse upon the Matter, that they may of themselves light on them, which will make them approved as their own Off-spring, and accordingly executed; others know neither how to act nor resolve without Counsel, with such as these all the Persuasion in the World is to no purpose, so the Business which should have passed through their hands may be better transacted with their Counsellors.

The

The same Variety which is visible in Dispositions, is found also in Affairs; some are easy at first; but afterwards increase as Rivers by the Affluence of Rivulets; as it were of divers Inconveniencies and Difficulties, these are overcome by Expedition in not giving time to their Increase. Others on the contrary, like the Winds rise in Storms, but end calmly, which require Patience and Constancy. The Enterprize of some is full of Uncertainty and Danger, in that when one least thinks the Depth of Difficulties appears; here one must proceed with Caution and Courage, with Care, and a Mind provided to encounter any Accident. Some require Secrecy, these are to be carried on by Mines, that the happy Success may break out before one can perceive it: Others can't be obtained but at certain Times, in these you ought to have all the Means ready immediately to hoist Sail upon the first favourable Blast of Wind. Some take Root gradually, and demand Time to come to Maturity; here the Seed of Diligence is to be Sowed and the Fruit waited for: Others except they succeed presently never do at all, which must be taken by Assault, by employing all Methods at once. Some are so delicate and brittle, that like Glasse they are with a Blast formed and broken, these are to be tenderly handled: the Difficulty of others is inhanced by being too much desired and pursued, here the Arts of Lovers are useful, whose Passions are inflamed by Slight and Disdain. In a word the Management of a few Affairs demands Precipitation; in more Force prevails; in many Patience, and in almost all Reason and Interest. Importunity has spoil'd abundance of Affairs, but it has also furthered many, as St. *Jerome* said of the Woman of *Canaan* (7). Men are no less weary of refusing than granting. Opportunity is the thing contributes most to the good

(7) *Quod precibus non potuit tædio impetravit.* D. Hieron.

Management

Management of Affairs; he who knows how to use this shall scarce ever Miscarry. The Husbandman that is well acquainted with the Nature of his Soil, and knows the proper Seed-time, may expect a plentiful Harvest. There's a time when all things are granted, another wherein all are denied, according as the Mind shall be disposed, in which you may easily see the Increase and Decrease of Business, for being lopped like Trees in a proper Month, they sprout out the more. Some Address in proposing and persuading, by Honesty, Profit, and Ease, Prudence in the Choice of Means, and some other natural Endowments, infinitely conduce to the Success of Affairs, provided those Gifts of Nature be accompanied with a discreet kind of Complaisance and natural Grace that captivates the Mind; for some Mens Looks and Behaviour are so disagreeable and ungenteel, that they even shew one how to refuse their Petitions; but although these Means joyned with good Judgment and Industry, have a strange Effect on Business; yet too much Confidence ought not to be put in them, nor yet should they be despaired of. Light Affairs sometimes breed great Difficulties; and on the other side, the lightest Causes often obstruct the most weighty. The greatest Prudence is sometimes blind in a Matter as clear as the Sun; Divine Providence that has already long ago determined in his eternal Decree, what shall become of every thing, being thus pleased to sport with Humane Affairs.

From this Variety of Capacities and Affairs, appears of how much Concern it is to the Prince, to make Choice of Ministers fit to manage them, each Man being no more capable of all manner of Business, than every Instrument useful for all Works. Persons of a violent Temper, the Cowardly and Diffident, the Rough and Unpleasant in Conversation,

who

who can never ſerve the times, nor adapt themſelves to others Natures and Cuſtoms, rather ſpoil Affairs than compoſe them; are readier at making, than reconciling Enemies, fitter to be Informers than Mediators. Affairs require Perſons of very different Qualities to Adminiſter them. That Man is above all the moſt proper, who in his Air and Words diſcovers a Soul of Candor and Veracity, whoſe private Perſon procures him Love and Eſteem; in whom Jealouſy and Cunning are from Art not Nature, who can keep them in the moſt ſecret Place of his Breaſt when they require Concealment; who propoſes with Sweetneſs, hears with Patience, replies with Force, diſſembles with Diſcretion, urges with Attention; who obliges by Liberality, perſuades by Reaſon, and convinces by Experience; who in a word deſigns prudently, and executes effectually. It was with theſe Miniſters, King *Ferdinand* the Catholick was able to ſucceed in all his Enterprizes. The good Choice of theſe is of no leſs Conſequence, than the Conſervation and Enlargement of any State, for as much as all depends upon their Adminiſtration; more Kingdoms having been deſtroyed by their Ignorance than by that of Princes. Let this therefore be your Highneſs's chiefeſt Care to examine diligently all the Qualities of your Subjects, and after having given them any Place, look now and then into their Actions, and not be preſently taken with, and deluded by the Draught of their Memoirs. There being very few Miniſters, who in them draw themſelves to the Life? In Effect, who will be ſo candid, ſo much a Stranger to ſelf-love, as to confeſs what good he has neglected to do, what Evil to prevent? It will be much if he with Sincerity relate what he has actually done; ſome uſing to write to the Prince not what they have done or ſaid, but what they ought to do or ſay. They have thought of, and deſigned every thing

before-

before-hand; they foreſaw, nay, and executed all Affairs enter their Cloſets like miſhapen Logs, but immediately come out again, as from ſome Statuaries Shop, exquiſite Figures; 'tis there they are varniſhed, gilded, and painted, to beautify them, and enhance their Value. There Judgments are form'd, and abundance of Preventions deviſ'd even after the Succeſs; there they are more powerful than God himſelf; make the paſt Time preſent, and the preſent paſt, by changing the Date of their Actions, as they ſee convenient. They are Miniſters who tranſact Affairs in Imagination only; Men that court Applauſe, and ſteal Rewards by their falſe Letters: Whence proceed the greateſt Inconveniences in the World, in that the Prince's Privy Counſellors being directed by thoſe Intelligences and Advices, if they are falſe, the Orders and Reſolutions founded upon them will neceſſarily be ſo too. The Holy Scripture teaches us how Miniſters, and particularly Ambaſſadors are oblig'd punctually to execute their Commiſſions; for we ſee in that *Hazael* had from *Benhadad*, King of *Syria* to conſult the Prophet *Eliſha* about his Diſeaſe, he chang'd not one word, nor dared ſo much as to ſpeak in the Third Perſon (8).

Miniſters of extraordinary Experience are ſometimes dangerous, either for that the Prince puts too much Confidence in them, or becauſe biaſſed by Self-love, or preſuming upon their own Abilities, they ſeldom think thoroughly of Affairs, and born as 'twere to overcome the moſt violent Tempeſts, deſpiſe the ſmall Storms of Inconveniences and Difficulties, whereby they evidently expoſe themſelves to Danger. Thoſe are in ſome Caſes much ſafer, who as yet Novices in Navigation keep cloſe to the Shore.

(8) 2 Kings 8. 9.

Though

Though both together compose the best Counsels; in that the Experience of those is qualified by the Timorousness and Caution of these; in Debates between the Flegmatick and Cholerick, the Bold and Circumspect, the Quick and Slow, there results a wholsome Composition of Opinions, as there does in Bodies from the contrariety of Humours.

EMBLEM XXXI.

A Pillar ſupports it ſelf, balanced by its own weight. If it once leans on either ſide, it preſently falls, and that the ſooner the heavier it is. Thus Empires ſtand, and are preſerv'd by their own Authority and Repute; when they begin to loſe that, they begin to fall; nor is any Earthly Power ſufficient to ſtrengthen and prop them (1). Let no one truſt too much to a ſtreight Pillar, when it inclines never ſo little, the weakeſt Hand promotes its Ruin; that very leaning I know not how inviting to puſh it; but when falling, the ſtrongeſt is unable to uphold it. One ſingle Action ſometimes overthrows the beſt eſtabliſh'd Reputa-

(1) *Nihil rerum mortalium tam inſtabile ac fluxum eſt, quam fama potentiæ, non ſua vi nixa.* Tac. 13. Ann.

tion which a great many can't erect again. For ſcarce any Stain can ſo thoroughly be waſhed out, but ſome ſign of it will remain, nor any Opinion in Mens Minds that can be entirely effaced. Dreſs the Infamy as carefully as poſſible, it will ſtill leave ſome Scars. Wherefore, if the Crown ſtand not fixed and firm upon this perpendicular Pillar of Reputation, it will ſoon fall to the Ground. *Alphonſo* the Fifth, King of *Arragon*, by his Credit not only preſerved his own Kingdom, but conquered that of *Naples*. At the ſame time *John* the Second, King of *Caſtile*, for his mean Spirit was ſo far the Contempt of his Subjects, that he admitted what Laws they thought fit to impoſe. The Provinces which under *Julius Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, Princes of great Eſteem, were Firm and Loyal, rebell'd in the Reign of *Galba*, a Man ſlothful, and univerſally deſpiſed (2). Royal Blood and Large Dominions are inſufficient to maintain Reputation, where private Virtue and Magnanimity are wanting; as it is not the Frame of a Glaſs, but its Intrinſick Excellency makes it valuable, Regal Majeſty has not more Force than Reſpect, which uſually ariſes from Admiration and Fear, and from theſe Obedience and Subjection, without which the Prince's Dignity cannot long maintain it ſelf, being founded upon the Opinion of others; and the Royal Purple will be rather a Mark of Deriſion, than Eminence and Majeſty, as was viſible in *Henry* the Fourth. It is the Spirits and Native Heat that keep the Body upright; the Legs alone would not be a ſufficient Baſis. And what is Reputation, but a kind of fine Spirit kindled in all Mens Opinions, which raiſes and ſupports the Scepter. Let the Prince therefore take all poſſible care that his Actions may be ſuch as will nouriſh and foment theſe Spirits. The *Parthians* grounded their Peti-

(2) *Melius Divo Julio, Divoque Auguſto notos eorum animos Galbam, & infracta tributa, hoſtiles Spiritus induiſſe.* Tac. 4. Hiſt.

tion

tion upon Reputation, when they asked *Tiberius* to send as of his own accord, one of *Phraates*'s Sons to *Rome* (3).

This Repute and Authority has yet greater Influence in War, where Fear is of more Efficacy than the Sword, and Opinion than Strength, whether of Mind or Body, and therefore to be taken no less Notice of than Force of Arms. This made *Suetonius Paulinus* very prudently advise *Otho* to endeavour always to keep the *Roman* Senate on his side, whose Authority could never be wholly Darkned, though it might be sometimes Eclipsed (4). This also made many Countries submit to it, and seek its Protection (5), in the Differences that were between those Great Generals, *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, each his principal Aim was to Conquer rather the Reputation than Arms of his Rival; well knowing that Minds and Forces follow more the noise of Fame, than that of the Drum. King *Philip* the Second was eminently skilful in this Art of preserving Reputation; having by it from his Cabinet so managed the Reigns of both Worlds, that he always had them at Command.

Nay, even when the Ruin of States is apparent, 'tis better to suffer them, than ones Credit to be destroy'd, for without this 'tis impossible to re-establish them. For which Reason, though the Republick of *Venice* saw it self lost in that violent Storm of the League of *Cambray*, yet that most Prudent and Valiant Senate thought it better to shew their Constancy on that Occasion, than to betray any Cowardice by using dishonourable Means. Desire of Dominion makes Princes mean. For want of this

(3) *Nomine tantum, & auctore opus, ut sponte Cæsaris, ut genus Arsacis, ripam apud Euphratis cernerctur.* Tac. 6. Ann. (4) *Nunquam obscura nomina, etsi aliquando obumbrentur.* Tac. 2. Hist. (5) *Erat grande momentum, in nomine Urbis, & prætexta senatus.* Tac. 1. Hist.

Conſideration, *Otho* with ſtretch'd out Hands ſeem'd to adore the People, he embraced every one, and ſhewed all the ſervileneſs imaginable to gain them to his Party, and ſo procur'd the Empire by thoſe means which declared him unworthy of it (6). Even in Indigence and Neceſſity it is not fit to uſe means violent and inglorious, or ſeek the Aſſiſtance of Foreigners; for both are dangerous, and neither ſeek to relieve want; nay, Reputation is the better Remedy for it. One Man is as rich in Opinion, as another in the abundance of hid Treaſures. The Old *Romans* were undoubtedly perſwaded ſo, when in ſeveral occaſions of Adverſity, the Provinces offering them Money and Corn, they return'd Thanks, but would not accept them. Two Legions having been caſt away at Sea, to recruit the Loſs, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, ſent Money, Horſes, and Arms; *Germanicus* commended their Affection, and accepted only of the Horſes and Arms, but not the Money (7). In two other Preſents made the *Roman* Senate, of Golden Cups of great Value, in time of extraordinary Neceſſity, the firſt time thanks were given the Ambaſſadors for their Care and Magnificence, and the Cup of leaſt value accepted (8). The other, Thanks were return'd, but the Preſents rejected (9).

The Authority and Reputation of a Prince proceeds from ſeveral Cauſes; ſome of which reſpect his Perſon, others his State. The former ſort are either of Body or Mind: Of the Body, as if it be of a ſuitable Frame, and a Diſpoſition capable of maintaining Majeſty; though the natural Defects of

(6) *Nec deerat Otho protendens manus adorare vulgum, jacere oſcula, & omnia ſerviliter pro dominatione.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (7) *Caterum ad ſupplenda exercitus damna, certavere Gallia, Hiſpania, Italia, quod cuique promptum, arma, equos, aurum offerentes, quorum laudato ſtudio Germanicus, armis modo & equis ad bellum ſumptis, propria pecunia militem juvit.* Tac. 1. Ann. (8) *Legatis gratia actæ pro magnificentia cuique, Patera quæ minimi ponderis fuit accepta.* Liv. l. 22. (9) *Gratia actæ, aurum non acceptum.* Liv. 22.

Body

Body are often ſupplied by Virtues of Mind. *Charles Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, had no ſmall Imperfections of Body; yet his great and generous Soul, his lively Wit, his Complaiſance, and other Courtly Accompliſhments made him admired by all. A grave and auſtere Carriage make him paſs for a Prince, who without that would be but very contemptible; yet this Air ought to be temper'd with Courteſy and good Humour, that Authority may be ſupported without incurring Hatred, or the Character of Arrogant; a thing *Tacitus* commends in *Germanicus* (10). The Riches and Splendor of Apparel is another thing, procures Admiration and Authority: for the Vulgar are taken with theſe Outſides, and Mankind admits the Eyes no leſs than the Underſtanding into its Counſel. Whence *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, very well ſaid, *That Cloaths contribute much to make Men known for either Noble or Baſe; and the Ancient Sages oblig'd their Princes to Cloths of Gold, and Silk, and beſet with Jewels, that they might be known at ſight without inquiry.* When King *Abaſuerus* gave Audience, he wore Royal Apparel, and ſhone in Gold and precious Stones (11). It was on this account God commanded *Moſes to make Holy Garments for Aaron, his Brother, for Glory and for Beauty* (12). And he accordingly made them of Purple, embroidered with Gold, and adorned with other things of great value (13), which his Succeſſors wore after him; and at this day the Popes do, though with greater Prudence, and leſs Expence. And indeed, if his Holineſs be an Arm of God upon the Earth; if the Voice of his Cenſures be like that of the Almighty's Thunder (14), 'tis but juſt (whatever Impiety cavils) that as God covers himſelf with Light (15), the Garment of Heaven, ſo ſhe ſhould be deck'd with Earthly

(10) *Viſuque & auditu juxta venerabili, cum magnitudinem, & gravitatem ſummæ fortunæ retineret invidiam & arrogantiam effugeret.* Tac. 2. Ann. (11) Heſt. 15. 9. (12) Exod. 28. 2. (13) Ibid. (14) Job 40. 4. (15) Pſalm 103. 2.

Pomp, and carried upon Mens Shoulders (16). The ſame has place in Princes, who are God's Vicegerents in Temporals (17).

Large and ſumptuous Palaces magnificently furniſh'd (18), a Noble and Eminent Family (19), Guards of Nations of approved Fidelity (20), the Splendor and Grandeur of a Court, and other Publick Oſtentations do alſo ſet out a Prince's Power to the beſt advantage, and give an additional Majeſty. Illuſtrious Titles of States Conquered or Hereditary, which are attributed to him, are alſo Manifeſtations of his Eminency. Thus, *Iſaiah*, by divers Names and Titles declares the Majeſty of the Supream Creator, and Prince of all things (21). By theſe therefore your Highneſs is to ſtudy to enhance the Luſtre of your Royal Perſon, provided however they be not aſcrib'd out of Levity or Flattery, but from an univerſal Applauſe founded upon Virtue and true Valour, ſuch as were thoſe of your Highneſs's Anceſtors, *Ferdinand* the Holy, *Alphonſo* the Great, *Sancho* the Brave, *James* the Warlike, *Alphonſo* the Noble, and many others.

The Excellency of Virtues, and in general all natural Perfections requiſite in a good Governor, procure a Prince Eſteem and Authority. One alone that ſhall ſhine in him, whether it reſpect Peace or War; abundantly ſupplies the defect of all others, as if he apply himſelf to Buſineſs, though not with abſolute ſufficiency; for to leave all to the Care of Miniſters infinitely diminiſhes the Force of Majeſty. This was *Salluſt*'s Counſel to *Livia* (22). Any one Reſolution the Prince ſhall have taken very opportunely without anothers Advice: One Reſentment, and to have once ſhewn the Extent of his Power, though upon the ſlighteſt Occaſion, make him fear'd and reſpected; as does Conſtancy of Mind in both Fortunes, for the

(16) Job 40. 5. (17) Pſalm 81. 6. (18) Eccl. 2. 4. (19) Prov. 22. 29. (20) Job 25. 2. (21) Iſaiah 9. 6. (22) *Neve Tiberius vim principatus reſolveret, cuncta ad ſenatum vocando.* Tac. 1. Ann.

People

People look upon it as supernatural, not to be puff'd up by Prosperity, or by Adversity dejected; they believe there is something more than Humane in such a Prince.

Equality in Actions is another thing that greatly advances a Prince's Character, it being a sign of a serene and prudent Judgment, if he dispence his Favours, or revenge Injuries out of Season, he will indeed be fear'd, but not esteem'd; as *Vitellius* experienc'd (23).

Farther to maintain Reputation, Prudence not to attempt what cannot be obtain'd, very much contributes. For so his Power will seem infinite, if the Prince engage in no War wherein he cannot Conquer, or demand nothing of his Subjects but what is just and feasible, not giving the least ground for Disobedience. To enterprize, and not accomplish, is in a Prince inglorious; in Subjects rash.

Princes are valued at the same Rate they set upon themselves. For altho' Honour consists in the esteem of others; yet this is generally form'd out of a preconceiv'd Opinion of every one, which (at least if prudent) is greater or less, according as the Mind gathers strength from the Valour it finds in it self, or loses it, if without Merit. The greatest Souls are most aspiring (24); the Cowardly dare attempt nothing, judging themselves unworthy the least Honour. Nor is this always a virtuous Humility and Modesty in this sort of Men, but a baseness of Mind, which renders them deservedly contemptible to every one, while they pretend they aim at nothing higher, because they are sensible of their want of Merit. *Blæsus* almost seem'd unworthy the Empire, merely for refusing the offer of it (25). Unhappy is that State, whose Head thinks himself undeserving the Title of Prince, or who pre-

(23) *Vitellium subitis offensis, aut intempestivis blanditiis mutabilem contemnebant metuebantque.* Tac. 2. Hist. (24) *Optimus quisque maxima altissima capere.* Tac. 4. Ann. (25) *Adeo non Principatus appetens, ut parum effugeret ne dignus crederetur.* Tac. 3. Hist.

ſumes he Merits more; the firſt is meanneſs of Spirit; this latter is accounted Tyranny.

In theſe Endowments of the Mind, Chance alſo has place; for a Prince happens often, even with them to be deſpiſed, when Prudence is unhappy, or Events anſwer not Deſigns. Some Governments, good in themſelves, are notwithſtanding ſo unfortunate, that nothing ſucceeds under them; which is not always the Fault of Humane Providence, but the Divine ſo ordains, when the particular Ends of this Inferior Government, agree not with thoſe that Superior and Univerſal one propoſes.

This I add withal, that all theſe good Qualities of Mind and Body, are not ſufficient to maintain the Prince's Reputation, if his Family be diſſolute; it is on that depends all his Authority, nor is any thing more difficult, than a regular Management of a Family. It uſually ſeems eaſier to Govern a whole Country than one Houſe; either becauſe a Prince intent on greater things is negligent of this, or Self-love is an Obſtacle, or for want of Courage, or out of a natural Slothfulneſs, or at leaſt, becauſe his Attendants ſo blind his Eyes, that his Judgment can't apply Remedies. It was none of the leaſt Commendations of *Agricola*, that he had curb'd his own Family, never ſuffering his Domeſticks to intermeddle with Publick Affairs (26). *Galba* was a good Emperor, but an ill Maſter of his Palace, no leſs Vices reigning there than in that of *Nero* (27). *Tiberius*, among other things, was commended for having modeſt Servants. No Government can be well inſtituted, where Courtiers Command, and Rob, or Proſtitute its Authority by their Pride and Vices (28). If they are good, they make the Prince the ſame; if wicked, he though really otherwiſe, will appear ſo

(26) *Primum domum ſuam coercuit, quod pleriſque haud minus arduum eſt, quam Provinciam regere; nihil per libertos, ſervoſque publica rei.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (27) *Jam afferebant cuncta venalia prapotentes liberti ſervorum manus ſubitis avidæ tanquam apud ſenem feſtinantes.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (28) *Abdeſta ſervitia.* Tac. 4. Ann.

too.

too. From them the Prince's Actions have their value, on them depends his good or ill Character; in as much as others Virtues and Vices are wont to be imputed to him. If his Domesticks are prudent, they conceal his Faults; nay, as much as possible vindicate every Action of his, and by extolling, render them more illustrious; they relate them with a Grace that challenges Admiration. Whatever comes from the Prince into Publick, is great in the Peoples Eyes. Princes in their Palaces are like other Men, but Respect makes them imagined greater; and their Retirement from common Conversation covers their Sloth and Weakness: Whereas, if their Servants are guilty of Imprudence or Infidelity, the People by them, as through Chinks discover it, and quit that Veneration they before had for them.

The Prince's Reputation redounds from that of the State, if this be provided with good Laws and Magistrates; if Justice be observ'd, and one Religion maintain'd therein; if it pay due Respect and Obedience to Majesty; if Care be taken of Corn and Plenty, if Arts and Arms flourish, and one may in all things see a constant Order and Harmony proceeding from the Prince's Hands; and lastly, if the States Happiness depends upon the Prince himself: For if that can be injoy'd without this, they will soon despise him. The Labourers in *Egypt* regard not the Skies (29), for the *Nile* by its Inundations watering and making their Land fertile, they have no need of Clouds.

(29) *Aratores in Ægypto Cœlum non suspiciunt.* Plin.

EMBLEM XXXII.

THE Oyſter conceives by the Dew of Heaven, and in its pureſt Womb, the Pearl, that moſt beautiful Embryo is born. No one would imagine its exquiſite Delicacy, to ſee ſo courſe and unpoliſh'd an outſide. It is thus, the Senſes are uſually deceiv'd in their Cenſure of Exterior Actions, when they judge only by the outward appearance of things, without ſearching the inſide. Truth depends not upon Opinion: Let the Prince deſpiſe that, if he be ſenſible he act agreeable to Reaſon: He will never dare enterprize any thing difficult or extraordinary, if Fear prompts him to conſult the Sentiments of the Mob. In himſelf he ſhould look for himſelf, not in others. The Art of Government ſuffers not it ſelf to be diſturb'd by thoſe thin Shadows of Reputation. The King has the greateſt,

who

who knows perfectly how to manage Affairs both of Peace and War. The Honour of Subjects the leaſt thing blemiſhes, whereas that of Kings is inſeparable from the Publick Good; this continuing, that increaſes, failing, it periſhes. Beſides, Government would be too dangerous, had it no better Foundation than the Laws of Reputation, inſtituted by the giddy Rabble. Contempt of ſuch is Courage and Steddineſs in a Prince, whoſe Sovereign Law is the Peoples Safety. *Tiberius* heretofore gloried in having ſhewn himſelf fearleſs of Affronts and Scandal for the Publick Benefit (1). A great and lively Soul is nothing affraid of the uncertain Rumours of the Multitude and Common Fame. He who deſpiſes this imaginary, will thereby obtain real and ſolid Glory. This *Fabius Maximus* well knew, when he preferr'd the Publick Safety before the Clamours and Complaints of the People, accuſing his Delays; as did alſo the Great Captain in the Captivity of Duke *Valentin*, who, though he had ſurrendered, and intruſted himſelf to his ſafe Conduct; yet for ſome freſh Plots he was inform'd he had laid againſt his Catholick Majeſty, kept him Priſoner, thinking the Dangers his Liberty might cauſe more to be reſpected, than the Aſperſions were thrown upon him for the Breach of his Parole; from which, at that time, it ſeem'd by no means proper for him publickly to clear himſelf. King *Sancho* the Brave, was a Prince renown'd and warlike; yet Deaf to the Calumnies of his Subjects, he declin'd the Battel of *Xeres* †. 'Tis better for a Prince to be feared by his Enemies as Prudent, than as Raſh and Precipitous.

My Deſign by this Diſcourſe is not to make the Prince a very Slave to the Commonwealth, ſo that for any Reaſon, or upon the leaſt appearance of its Intereſt, he ſhould break his Word, or run Counter to all Treaties and Agreements: For ſuch a Violation can neither be of any advantage to him, nor his State, but

(1) *Offenſionem pro utilitate publica non pavidum.* Tac. 4. Ann.
† Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.

will

will be rather the Ruin of both; what is diſhoneſt being never long ſecure: A remarkable Inſtance of which we have in the Kingdom of *Arragon*, which has been ſo often embroiled, toſs'd with ſo many Storms of Calamities and eminent Miſeries, becauſe *Peter* the Fourth, as well in times of Peace as War, had more regard to Intereſt, than Credit and Renown. Intereſt and Honour ſhould walk hand in hand, and the ſame pace; nor can I be reconciled to this Opinion, *That nothing is glorious but what is ſafe, and that whatever is done to maintain Dominion is honourable* (2). For what is baſe, can never be a good means to preſerve it; nor if it were, will it be therefore the more honourable or excuſable. My Deſign is only to raiſe the Prince's Mind above the Vulgar Opinion, and arm him with Conſtancy to withſtand the vain Murmurs of the Multitude; that he may know how to temporize, to diſſemble Injuries, to lay aſide Kingly Gravity, to deſpiſe empty Fame, having his Eyes fix'd upon that which is true and well-grounded. In a word, to take Counſel from the time and neceſſity, if the Conſervation of his State requires it, and not ſuffer himſelf to be deluded with vain Shadows of Honour, eſteeming that more than the Publick Good. A Fault blam'd in King *Henry* the Fourth, who refus'd to take their Advice, who perſwaded him to apprehend *John Pachico*, Marquiſs of *Villena*, the Author of the Troubles and Commotions among the Grandees of the Kingdom: Saying he had made him a promiſe of a ſafe Paſſage to *Madrid*, which he ought not to violate. A frivolous Excuſe, to prefer an idle Proof of Faith and Clemency to his own Life, and the Publick Safety, eſpecially towards one, who would abuſe this his Favour to Plot againſt his Royal Perſon, which was the ſource of great Calamities to the King, and his whole Kingdom. *Tiberius* was not at all moved, that ſome blamed him for making ſo long a ſtay at the

(2) *Nihil glorioſum niſi tutum, & omnia vetitoenda dominationis honeſta.* Salluſt.

ſle of *Capreæ*, and neither went to aid the *Gauls*, of whom a great part were already loſt; nor to appeaſe the Legions in *Germany* (2). Prudent Conſtancy hears, but does not much regard the Sentiments of the ignorant Multitude; knowing if things ſucceed well, Murmur will afterwards turn to greater Glory, and ſenſibly vaniſh of it ſelf. The Army diſtruſted *Saul*'s Election, and in Deriſion ſaid, *How ſhall this Man ſave us* (4)? *Saul* however took no notice of thoſe Words, but made as if he did not hear them, (nor indeed ſhould Princes hear every thing) and the Soldiers, condemning afterwards their Crime, recanted, nay, and made diligent ſearch for the Author of that Abuſe to put him to Death (5). It had not been prudent in *Saul* to expoſe his Election, by diſcovering his knowledge of the Peoples Diſſatisfaction. What Levity were it in a Traveller to be ſtopp'd by the importunate Noiſe of every Graſhopper? To be guided in ones Reſolutions by the gazing Mob were folly (6); to fear them, and revoke what has been once reſolved, baſe and infamous. Scarce any Council would be ſecure, did it depend upon the Multitude, who are incapable of penetrating all the Motives upon which the Prince Acts, nor is it fit to make them publick; for that were to give them the Authority of the Scepter. All the Peoples Power is included in the Perſon of the Prince. It is his part to Act, theirs to Obey, with a firm Perſwaſion of the Equity and Reaſonableneſs of his Commands. *If every one had liberty to ask Reaſons of what is injoyned, there would be an end of Obedience and Empire* (7). 'Tis as neceſſary for a Subject to be ignorant of theſe things, as to know others. *The Sovereign Juriſdiction of things God has given to Princes, to Subjects is left the Glory of Obedience.* The only thing required of a Prince, is to

(3) *Tanto impenſius in ſecuritatem compoſitus, neque loco, neque vultu mutat, ſed ut ſolitum per illos dies egit.* Tac. 3. Ann. (4) 1 Sam. 10. 27. (5) 1 Sam. 11. 12. (6) *Non ex rumore ſtatuendum.* Tac. 3. Ann. (7) *Si ubi jubeantur, quærere ſingulis liceat; pereunte obſequio, etiam imperium intercidit.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

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acquit himself of his Duty in his Resolutions and Decrees; if the Success prove not answerable to his desire, he ought not to be discouraged; for it is sufficient that he has done nothing imprudently; the very best Counsel is weak and liable to abundance of Accidents. The greater a Monarchy is, the more exposed it is to the unhappy Casualties, which Chance brings with it, or Humane Understanding is unable to foresee and prevent. Gross Bodies usually labour under great Distempers. Did not the Prince prosecute Affairs notwithstanding all Obloquy and Detraction, with Courage and Constancy, he would lead but an unhappy Life. If he at any time chance to err, Courage is necessary, least he be dash'd, and become for the future slow and irresolute. That Prince, who upon no grounds suspects all he does will be disapproved of, contracts too much the Limits of his Power, and subjects himself to a thousand Terrors of Imagination, which generally arise from some private superstitious Perswasion, or Excess of Melancholy. These Inconveniences *David* seems to have acknowledged, when he prayed God to take away the Reproach which he fear'd (8). Let the Prince therefore arm himself with Constancy to resist any Events, and the Opinions of the Vulgar, and shew his Valour in the Defence of the true and real Reputation of his Person and Arms, seeing the loss or stain of this brings the whole Empire into danger. King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, very well understood this, when he advised his Father, *John* the Second, King of *Arragon*, to adapt himself to the Times and Necessity, and endeavour to secure his Crown by gaining the Hearts of the Marquis of *Villena*, and *Alphonso Carillo*, Archbishop of *Toledo* †. He did indeed all honourable means to effect it; but could never be oblig'd basely to bend his Regal Authority to the Fury and Violence of his Subjects, thinking there to be more Danger in this, than Advantage in gaining their Affe-

(8) Psalm 118. 39. † Mar. Hist. Hisp.

ſions. Time is the beſt Maſter of theſe Arts, and ſuch a one may come as will make even mean Actions Heroick, and impute even baſe and ſervile Submiſſion to Fortitude. 'Tis an honourable and lawful End ennobles them. *Tacitus* accuſes *Vitellius for being* Nero's *Aſſociate in his Debaucheries without any Neceſſity, which had made it very excuſable, but out of meer Luxury and Laſciviouſneſs* (9). To ſubmit to Neceſſity, requires no leſs Reſolution than to overcome it; and what is ſometimes thought Baſeneſs, is a deſire of Honour, as when to prevent the loſs of this, or at leaſt to preſerve it, Injuries are put up for a time. He that immediately runs to Revenge, ſuffers himſelf to be led more by Paſſion than Honour. Anger, 'tis true, has Satisfaction, but the Ignominy becomes more notorious and publick. How oft has Bloodſhed been a kind of Rubrick inſcribed with Injuries? How often have we ſeen in the Offenders gaſhed Face, the offended Perſon's Infamy written in Scars, as in ſo many Letters? Honour has been more frequently loſt by Revenge than Diſſimulation; this brings Oblivion, that Remembrance; and we more value a Perſon that has prudently taken an Affront, than one who has raſhly reveng'd one. He, who makes a true and prudent Eſtimate of the price of his Honour, weighs it againſt Revenge, which the former with the Addition of a Grain of publick Eſteem, out-weighs by much.

Although it is my Advice, that the Prince value not popular Diſcourſe; this, however, I would have limited to the Caſes mentioned, that is, when it is compenſated by the Publick Good, or obſtructs the Execution of any great Deſigns, which the People don't comprehend, at leaſt not well underſtand: For the Succeſs and Honour of the thing recovers afterwards the loſt Reputation with Intereſt. It will in the mean time be Prudence in the Prince at all times, as much as poſſible,

(9) *Sellari cantantem ſolitus, non neceſſitate, qua honeſtiſſimus quiſque, ſed in Luxu & ſagina mancipatus emptuſque.* Tac. 2. Hiſt.

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to conform his Actions to the Inclinations of the People; their Approbation working almost the same Effect with real Glory; they both consist in Men's Imagination, and the popular Voice, though false, sometimes gains so much Credit, that neither Time, nor any contrary Action can ever after efface it.

EMBLEM XXXIII.

WHAT an entire Glass represents, the same when broken, each part of it exhibits. Thus the Lion views himself in both Pieces of that of the present Emblem, that Symbol of Fortitude and generous Constancy, which a Prince in all Accidents ought to maintain: In as much as he is a Publick Mirror, wherein the whole World views it self, as King *Alphonso* the Wise has

him well observed, speaking of Kings Actions, and how they ought to be regulated. Whether therefore Success preserve, or Misfortunes break him, he should ever appear with one Countenance; which indeed in Prosperity is of some difficulty, considering how apt the Passions are to break forth of themselves, and that Reason vanishes with Glory. However, a truly noble Mind suffers not it self to be transported, even, by the highest Happiness, as one might see in *Vespasian*, who though he was by the unanimous Consent of all saluted Emperor, was yet neither Proud nor Arrogant (1), nor could the Alteration of Affairs work any in him. That Man, who with his Fortune changes his Mind, confesses he did not deserve it (2).

This modest Assurance was eminent too in *Piso*, who when adopted by *Galba*, look'd so serene and unconcern'd, as if it had been in his Power to be Emperor, and not depending upon the Will of another (3). Valour also is wont to be endanger'd by adverse Accidents, in that they generally find Men unprepared, there being scarce one who seriously thinks of all the Calamities incident to him. Which makes them surprise many unawares, and is the reason the Mind is then in so much Confusion, which proceeds either from excessive Dotage on those Happinesses it falls short of, or from fear of loss of Life; the desire of prolonging which is ingrafted in every Man's Nature. Let others harbour those Passions, yet in a Prince's Breast they ought never to be entertain'd; whose Duty 'tis to Govern equally in both Fortunes, and to keep always a pleasant composed Countenance and undaunted Speech. Thus *Otho* appear'd to his Friends, even after the loss of his Empire, endeavouring to stop their unreasonable

(1) *In ipso nihil tumidum, arrogans, aut in rebus novis novum fuit.* Tac. 2. Hist. (2) *Frons privata manet, non se meruisse fatetur, Quæ crevisse putat.* Claud.

(3) *Nullum turbati, aut exultantis animi motum prodidisse; sermone eodem usum, Imperatoremque reverens; de se moderatius, nihil in cultu, habitoque mutatum, quasi imperare posset magis quam vellet.* Tac. 1. Hist.

Tears (4). In that bloody Fight at *Navas* of *Tolouse*, King *Alphonso* the Ninth, continued in the Heat of the Engagement with the same Calmness of Mind and Looks. No Accident was ever able to disclose the Passion of King *Ferdinand* the Catholick. Being once struck by a mad Fellow of *Barcelona*, he seem'd to be nothing disordered, only gave Command he should be seized. The Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, at the Siege of *Ingolstadt*, changed neither his Looks nor Station, though the continual Fire of the Enemies Guns had tore his Tent in Pieces, and cut off some by his side. With no less Constancy the King of *Hungary*, (now the most August Emperor) and his Highness, *Ferdinand* the Infant, (both glorious Rivals of *Charles*'s Courage and Atchievements) stood undaunted at the Battel of *Nerlinguen*, not the least terrified by the Death of a Colonel, who was kill'd by a Cannon-shot very near them. Nor should I omit here the Example of *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and Elector of the Empire; the same, who was famous for the numerous Victories he obtain'd at the Head of the Catholick League. He was not puff'd up with them, nor suffer'd afterwards his great Soul to be broken by the contrary Success, though he saw his States ruined, and the King of *Sweden*, and *Frederick*, Count *Palatine*, in his Palace of *Monaca*, (a Fabrick worthy so great a Prince) and tho' he found the Duke of *Frizeland* as much his Enemy as the other two.

Let Envy, and the fickleness of Times, divide and dash into never so many pieces, the Glass of States, yet in every of them, however small, Majesty will remain entire. Whoever is born to a Scepter, ought not to be chang'd at any Event or Accident whatever, nor think any so grievous and insupportable, as for it to abandon himself, and dissemble the Person he bears. King *Peter*, even, when he fell into the Hands of his Bro-

(4) *Placidus ore, intrepidus verbis, intempestivas suorum lachrymas coercens.* Tac. 2. hist.

that

ther, and deadly Enemy, conceal'd not who he was, nay, when it was queſtion'd, if it were he or not, he cried out aloud, *It is I, it is I.* This very Conſtancy in preſerving a Grandeur and Majeſty in misfortunes, is ſometimes the beſt and only Remedy againſt them; as it was with *Porus*, King of the *Indies*, who being taken Priſoner by *Alexander* the Great, and demanded how he would be treated: Made anſwer, *Like a King.* And when *Alexander* ask'd him, whether he deſired nothing more: He replied, *That Word comprehends all.* Which Heroick Anſwer ſo affected *Alexander*; that he not only reſtored his Kingdom, but gave him other Countries beſides. To yield to Adverſity, is as it were to ſide with it. Valour in the Conquered pleaſes the Victor, either becauſe it renders his Triumph more glorious, or becauſe ſuch is the intrinſick Energy of Virtue. The Mind is not ſubject to Violence, nor has Fortune any Power over it. The Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, uſed ſevere Threats to *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, to oblige him to Surrender the Dutchy of *Wirtemburg*. To which his Anſwer was, *His Imperial Majeſty may indeed do what he pleaſes with my Body, but ſhall never be able to ſtrike fear into this Breaſt.* Which he really ſhew'd on another occaſion of much greater Danger; for it happened, as he was playing at Cheſs with *Erneſt*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, he heard Sentence of Death was paſs'd upon him, which he receiv'd with no more Trouble, than if the News had not concern'd him, but chearfully bid the Duke play on; which generous Carriage wiped off, in ſome meaſure, the Infamy of Rebellion, and procured him Glory. One great Action even upon a forced Death, leaves a Luſter and Repute to Life. As has in our own time happned: *Rodrigo Calderon*, Marquiſs *de Sieviglefias*, *or* Seven *Churches*, whoſe truly Chriſtian Valour and Heroick Conſtancy, were the whole World's Admiration, in ſo much as to turn Envy and Hatred, things common to one of his Fortune, into Pity and Commendations. None are delivered from violent Caſualties by

Timorouſneſs, nor does Confuſion any way leſſen Danger, whereas Reſolution either overcomes, or at leaſt renders it illuſtrious. The People gather what Peril they are in from the Prince's Countenance, as Mariners do the danger of the Tempeſt from that of their Pilot. For that Reaſon ought he to appear equally ſerene in Proſperity and Adverſity, leaſt Fear daſh, or Pride exalt him, and others be able to judge of the State of Affairs. This made *Tiberius* take ſo much care to hide every unſucceſsful Accident (5). All is in Diſorder and Confuſion, when in the Prince's Face, as that of Heaven, the Tempeſts which threaten the Commons are diſcernible. To change Colour at every Breath of Fortune, betrays a light Judgment and mean Spirit. Conſtancy, and an even Look, inſpire Subjects with Courage, ſtrike Enemies with Admiration. All Men fix their Eyes upon the Prince, and if they ſee Fear there, they fear. Thus 'twas with thoſe who were at *Otho*'s Table (6). Beſides, there can be no Fidelity where Fear and Diſtruſt find Entertainment (7). Which, however, I would have underſtood of thoſe Caſes, wherein it is convenient to diſſemble Dangers, and conceal Calamities; for in others to join in publick Expreſſions of Sadneſs, don't ill become the Prince, as that which manifeſts his Love to his Subjects, and engages their Hearts. The Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, put himſelf in Mourning, and expreſs'd his Sorrow for the Sacking of *Rome*. *David* upon the news of the Death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, *took hold of his Cloaths, and rent them* (8). The ſame did *Joſhua* for the loſs received by the Men of *Ai*; *And he fell to the Earth before the Ark of the Lord* (9). And indeed, what can be more juſt, than in a common Calamity thus to ſubmit to God; 'tis a kind of Rebo-

(5) *Hæc audita, quanquam abſtruſum, & triſtiſſima quoque maximè occultantem Tiberium pertulerunt.* Tac. 1. Ann. (6) *Simul Othonem vultum intueri, atque evenit inclinatis ad ſuſpicionem mentibus, cum timeret Otho timebatur.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (7) *Fides metu infralla.* Tac. 3. Hiſt. (8) 2 Sam. 1. 11. (9) Joſ. 7. 6.

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ſion willingly to receive Good only at God's Hands, and not Evil alſo (10). He that is humble under Correction, moves to Pardon.

Here it may be diſputed, whether this Steddineſs of Mind be commendable in an Inferior, when he needs the Aid of the more Potent; the Solution of which Doubt requires a peculiar Diſtinction. He, who is under Oppreſſion, and craves anothers Aſſiſtance, ſhould not do it with too much Cringing and Solicitude, leaſt he make his Fortune deſperate, there being no Prince, who out of pure Compaſſion will reach his Hand to a Man fallen, or undertake the Defence of one that has already abandon'd all hopes of himſelf and his Affairs. *Pompey*'s Cauſe loſt not a little in the Opinion of *Ptolomy*, when he ſaw ſo much Submiſſion in his Ambaſſadors. The King of the *Cheruſci* ſhewed much more Courage, when upon the loſs of his Kingdom, thinking it his Intereſt to procure the Favour of *Tiberius*, *He wrote to him not like a Fugitive or Beggar, but as one who remembred his former Fortune* (11). Nor is the Example of *Mithridates* leſs Illuſtrious, who being overthrown by *Eunon*, is ſaid, with a Reſolution truly Royal, to have thus beſpoke him, Mithridates *ſo many Years fought by the* Romans *by Sea and Land, here voluntarily Surrenders himſelf, do what you pleaſe with the Offspring of the great* Achemenes, *the only thing my Enemies cannot deprive me of* (12). Which Words prevailed with *Eunon* to intercede with the Emperor *Claudius* in his behalf (13). Let him, who hath faithfully ſerved his Prince, ſpeak boldly if he find himſelf injured; as *Herman Cortez* did to *Charles* the Fifth; and *Segeſtes* to *Germanicus* (14). In other Caſes prudence ſhould examine

(10) Job 2. 10. (11) *Non ut profugus aut ſupplex, ſed ex memoria pristinæ fortunæ.* Tac. 2. Ann. (12) *Mithridates terra marique per tot annos Romanis quæſitus, fronte adſum; utere, ut voles, prole magni Achemenis, quod mihi ſolum hoſtes non abſtuleruns.* Tac. 12. Ann. (13) *Mutatione rerum, & prece haud degenerare permotus.* Tac. 12. Ann. (14) *Simul Segeſtes ipſe ingens viſu, & memoria bonæ ſocietatis impavidus; verba ejus in hunc modum fuere.*

Necessity, Time, and the Things themselves, having attentive Respect to the following Maxims. That a Superior takes boldness in an Inferior for an Affront, imagining he aspires to be his equal, or disparages him; and on the other side, is very apt to slight one he sees too abject and submissive. It was for this reason; *Tiberius* nominated none to be Senators, but such as were of a servile Nature, and though such Persons were necessary for his Service, yet could he not endure that Baseness of Mind (15). Thus we see Princes are competent Judges of every ones natural Vigour and Alacrity, and are apt to put Affronts upon those whom they know will take them. *Vitellius* had not took the liberty to keep *Valerius Maximus* so long from the Consulate, which *Galba* had conferr'd on him, but that he thought *his meek Temper would not resent the Injury* (16). For this reason a resolute kind of Modesty, and a modest Courage will be highly requisite in a Prince, who, if he must of Necessity be ruined, had better be so with a *Mind* great and noble, than base and degenerous. This *Marcus Hortalus* consider'd, when *Tiberius* refused to assist him in the extremest Necessity (17).

When the more powerful denies another the Honour due to him, (especially in Publick Actions) it is more adviseable to snatch, and as I may say, steal, than dispute them. He that doubts distrusts his Merit; the Dissembler tacitly owns his want of it, and Modesty is afterwards but laugh'd at. He, who handsomely assumes the Preference due to him, easily preserves it afterwards. Thus it happ'ned once to the *German* Ambassadors, who seeing those of such Nations as surpassed in Valour and constant Alliance with the *Romans*, seated among the Senators in *Pompey*'s Theatre, said, *No Men in the World were preferable to the* Germans

(15) *Etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam projecta servientium patientia cedebat.* Tac. 3. Ann. (16) *Nulla offensa, sed mitem & injuriam segniter laturum.* Tac. 1. Hist. (17) *Avita nobilitatis etiam inter angustias fortuna retinens,* Tac. 2. Ann.

for

for Arms and Fidelity (18), and immediately took Place with the Senators, *every one being taken with their generous Freedom and noble Emulation* (19).

As to Favours and Gratuities, which depend wholly upon the Prince's pleasure, although they seem due to Merit or Virtue, the Subject ought not to murmur if they be not conferr'd upon him: On the contrary, rather give thanks under some honest Pretext, following the Example of some Officers, who were displac'd in *Vitellius*'s time (20). For a discreet Courtier usually lets acknowledgments close all his Discourse with the Prince. This piece of Prudence *Seneca* shewed after his Conference with *Nero*, about the Crimes laid to his Charge (21). He that complains, declares he has been ill us'd; and Princes have very little Confidence in one they think dissatisfied; all of them affecting to be like God in that, of whom we never complain in our Affliction, nay, we rather give thanks for them.

In Accusations also Constancy is of very great Consequence; he that gives way to them, makes himself a Criminal. The Innocent Person, who disowns his Actions, does in a manner plead guilty. A good Conscience arm'd with Truth, triumphs over Envy: If that be degenerate and resist not the Stream of Misfortunes, their Waves will overwhelm him, as a River by the force of its Current throws down the weaker Trees, whereas the deeply rooted stand immoveable. All *Sejanus*'s Favourites fell with his Fortune; *Marcus Terentius* alone, who couragiously acknowledged he had courted and esteem'd his Friendship, as that which procured him the Emperor *Tiberius*'s Favour, was acquitted (22); and all other Evidences either banished or

(18) *Nul'or mortalium armis, & fide ante Germanos esse.* Tac 13. Ann. (19) *Quod comiter à visentibus exceptum, quasi impetus antiqui, & bona æmulatione.* Tac. 13. Ann. (20) *Atque insuper Vitellio gratia, consuetudine servitii.* Tac. 2. Hist. (21) *Seneca (qui finis omnium cum dominante sermonum) gratias agit.* Tac. 14. Ann. (22) *Constantia orationis, & quia reperius erat qui efferret quæ omnes animo agitabant,* &c. Tac. 6. Ann.

executed. In ſome Caſes this firm aſſurance is abſolutely neceſſary, that Innocence defend not it ſelf by Excuſes, for fear of betraying Timorouſneſs; nor good Services be taken Notice of, leaſt they be thought to be upbraided. Thus *Agrippina* did when accuſed of having procured *Plautus* the Empire (23).

Nor ſhould the Prince's Perſon only be a Looking-Glaſs to his Subjects, but he is to ſhew himſelf ſuch by his State alſo, which is as it were his Picture, and ſo in that no leſs than his own Perſon, Religion, Juſtice, Clemency, and all other Imperial Virtues ought to be conſpicuous. And in as much as Councils, Seats of Juſtice, and Courts of Chancery, are Parts of this Glaſs, in them the ſame Qualities ſhould be found as are in the whole; nay, in all particular Miniſters who repreſent it; for it very much leſſens the Prince's Reputation to appear favourable to every Pretender to diſmiſs them with fair Promiſes, and give Incouragement to their Hopes; and on the other ſide, put off his Counſellors, and other Miniſters, to deter them by rough Uſage from purſuing their Petitions. An Artifice that will ſoon diſcover it ſelf to be unworthy a Generous and Royal Breaſt. The Miniſter is a piece of publick Coin, ſtamp'd with the Prince's Image, which, except it be of good Allay, and repreſent him to the Life, will be refuſed as Counterfeit (24). If the Head, which Governs, be of Gold, the Hands alſo which ſerve ſhould be ſo too; as were thoſe of the Spouſe in the Holy Scripture (25).

Farther, Ambaſſadors are alſo principal Parts of this Glaſs, as Perſons in whom the Prince's Authority is lodged. And certainly it would infinitely prejudice the Publick Faith to have his Words and Veracity not found in theſe: And as they are the Lieutenants of his

(23) *Ubi nihil pro innocentia, quaſi diffideret, nec beneficiis, quaſi exprobraret, diſſeruit.* Tac. 3. Ann. (24) *Præfectus niſi formam ſuam reſervat, mali fati inſtar ſubditis efficitur.* Them. Orat. 17. (25) Cant. 5. 11, 14.

Power

Power and Courage, ſo ought they on all Occaſions to manifeſt them, as if the Prince were preſent in Perſon. Thus did *Anthony Fonſeca*, after he had propoſed to *Charles* the Eighth, in his Catholick Majeſty's Name, that the Kingdom of *Naples* ſhould not be invaded, till it had been judicially determin'd whoſe Title was beſt, and ſaw it came to nothing; with ſingular freedom of Mind he openly declared his King had now ſatisfied his Conſcience; that he was at liberty to take which ſide he thought moſt juſt, and immediately in the preſence of the King and Council, broke the Treaties of Peace before made between the two Crowns. As the Miniſter is to be furniſhed with his Prince's Maxims, ſo alſo ſhould he be with his Majeſty, Valour and Magnanimity.

EMBLEM XXXIV.

WHoever looks on the Thorns and Prickles of the Roſe-Tree, will hardly be perſwaded a Daughter ſo beautiful as the Roſe could proceed from ſo deform'd a Mother. One had need be indued with a great Meaſure of Faith to water it, and wait till it be cloathed with Verdure, and bloſſom into that wonderful pomp of Flowers, of ſo delicate a Smell. Yet by Patience and long Expectation, we at length find the labour not loſt, nor that Care ill imployed which has produced ſuch Beauty and Fragrancy. The firſt Branches of Virtue are harſh and thorny to our depraved Nature, but after ſome time, its Flower of all other, the moſt beautiful begins to Bloom. Let not the firſt ſight of things diſcourage a Prince, for the outſide of very few in Government are pleaſant; they all ſeem full of Thorns and

and Difficulties, but Experience has found many easy which appeared much otherwiſe to Sloth. The Prince therefore ſhould not be diſheartned; for in lightly yielding to them, he will be overcome by his own Apprehenſion rather than any thing real. Let him endure with Courage and Hope, with Patience and Perſeverance, ſtill keeping the means in his Hand. He that hopes has a good and faithful Companion on his ſide; I mean Time. Whence *Philip* the Second uſed to ſay, *I and Time againſt any two.* Precipitation is the effect of Madneſs, and generally the occaſion of great Perils. *Theobald*, Earl of *Champagne*, put his Succeſſion to the Crown of *Navarre*, very much in Queſtion, by not having patience to wait for his Uncle, King *Sancho*'s Death, but underhand conſpiring with the Nobles to poſſeſs himſelf of the Kingdom in his Life-time; for this put *Sancho* upon adopting *James* the Firſt of *Arragon*, his Heir. Patience obtains many Trophies. This was *Scipio*'s Excellency, who though he had infinite occaſions of Diſpleaſure, was yet ſo patient, *as never to let a paſſionate Word fall from him* (1), which thing gave ſucceſs to all his Deſigns. He that ſuffers with Expectation, vanquiſhes the ſlights of Fortune, and obliges her to take his Part, that Confidence among all her Viciſſitudes like Flattery winning upon her. *Columbus*, not without great hazard, expoſes himſelf to the Ocean's uncertain Waves, in queſt of new Countries. Neither *Hercules*'s *Ne plus ultra*, at *Caſpe* and *Abyla*, nor the Mountains of Waters, that ſeem to oppoſe his Enterprize deter him from it; he by Sailing tells the Sun's ſteps, and ſteals from the Year its Days, from the Days their Hours; his Needle wants the Pole, his Charts the Lines, his Companions patience; all things conſpire againſt him, but his Hope and Patience rub through all Difficulties, till at length a new World recompences his invincible Conſtancy. *Ferendum & Sperandum*, was a ſaying of *Empedocles*, and afterwards the Emperor

(1) *Ut nullum ferox verbum excideret.* Tit. liv.

Macrinus,

Macrinus's Motto, whence that of this Emblem is borrowed. Some Dangers are more easy to surmount than avoid: As *Agathocles* well knew, when being beaten, and besieged in *Syracuse*, he did not basely Surrender to the Enemy, but leaving a sufficient Body of Men for the Defence of the City, marched with the rest of his Army against *Carthage*, and he who could not be victorious in one War, by this means obtain'd a double Triumph. Rashness frequently overcomes a Danger, and despising it often confounds an Enemy. When *Hannibal* saw the *Romans* after the Battel of *Cannæ* send Succours into *Spain*, he began to fear their Power and Strength. No one ought to trust Prosperity too much, or despair in Adversity. Fortune lies between both, as ready to advance as depress. Let the Prince therefore keep in the one, and the other, a Constancy and Strength of Mind, prepared to encounter any Accident, and not suffer the Threats of the greatest Tempest to disturb him: For sometimes the Waves have cast a Man out of one Ship that is to be wreck'd, into another that is to be saved. A great and generous Soul Heaven it self favours. Let not the Prince rashly despair for anothers Dangers, or those which Chance brings with it. *He that observeth the Wind shall not sow, and he that regardeth the Clouds shall not reap* (2). Let him not imagine he obliges any one by his Afflictions. Tears are Womanish, nor is Fortune appeased with such Sacrifices. A great Soul endeavours to give it self Satisfaction or Comfort by some heroick and generous Action: *Thus* Agricola, when he heard of his Son's Death, *took not the Accident as generally Men do, ambitiously; nor in Tears like Women; but by War diverted his Grief* (3). To be wholly insensible, is either Vainglory, or Excess of Consternation.

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(2) Eccl. 11. 4. (3) *Quem casum, neque ut plerique fortium virorum, ambitiosè, neque per lamenta rursus, ac terrorem muliebrem tulit, & in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat.* Tac. in Vit. Agr.

In

In ſuing for Offices and Honours, the Deſign of this Emblem is very uſeful. He that can bear and hope, knows how to get the better of his Fortune. Whereas one that impatient of delay, thinks it baſe to be beholding and ſubmit, ſhall be deſpiſed and abandon'd by the whole World. To look on it as a point of Honour not to obey any, is the way to command none. The means are to be meaſured by the end; if in obtaining this there be more Honour got, than is loſt by them, certainly they ought to be uſed. Impatience of Sufferings we take for Generoſity of Mind, when it is imprudent Haughtineſs. Honour once attain'd, the Tracks made in aſcending them, preſently wear out. To endure much in order to Advancement, is not baſe Degeneracy, but extraordinary Strength of a Mind elevated and aſpiring. Some Tempers there are which can't abide to wait, that would have all things ended in a Moment; deſiring now to exceed their Equals, by and by their Superiors, and in a little while, even their own Hopes. Theſe hurried by this Violence of Ambition deſpiſe the moſt ſecure means as ſlow, and chooſe to employ the ſhorteſt, though moſt hazardous. But it uſually fares with them, as with Buildings raiſed in haſte, before the Materials have had time to dry and ſettle, which immediately fall down again.

The Maſter-piece of Government conſiſts in hoping and enduring, in that theſe are the only means to do things in time, without which nothing can poſſibly come to maturity. Trees that at the Springs firſt warmth bear Flowers, ſoon loſe them for not waiting till the Winters cold was quite gone. He, who would ripen Affairs with the Hand, cannot have the Satisfaction of taſting the Fruit of them. Impatience is the cauſe of Miſcarriages and Dangers (4); it creates Perils, which by being uneaſy under, and too haſty to eſcape, we augment. Therefore for thoſe Evils, as well Internal as External, which have by our negli-

(4) Prov. 14. 17.

gence

gence been increas'd in the Commonwealth, 'tis better to let them take their Course, and be sensibly cured by Time, than precipitate a Remedy, wherein there is more Danger. If before we could not foresee and prevent; at least let us learn to bear them after: They are increas'd by Opposition. A Danger conceal'd or not taken notice of, thereby becomes publick, and lays greater Impediments in his way, who thought to stop it. Fear imprudently arm'd against a Superior Power, does but find it Exercise, and render it more powerful by the Addition of its own Spoils. This Method *Cerealis* took to compose the Minds of those of *Treves*, least they should take up Arms against the *Romans*, saying, *A Fabrick, as that was, which had been the Product of Eight hundred years Success and Industry, could not be pull'd down, but its Ruin must of necessity bury the Authors of it* (5). Many things would not succeed so ill, did not our Fear and Imagination act with too much Precipitation. Apprehension and Jealousy of Tyranny, when once discovered, make it begin to be really, though it were not before. Whence in such like Cases, 'tis a piece of no less Courage to know how to dissemble, than to be too rash in remedying. The former is the genuine Effect of Prudence, this generally the Result of Fear.

(5) *Octogentorum annorum fortuna, disciplinaque, compages hac coalitio, quæ convelli sine excidio convellentium non potest.* Tac. 4. Hist.

E M-

EMBLEM XXXV.

THE closer the Breath is preſſed in a Trumpet, with the greater Harmony and Variety it goes out of it; thus 'tis with Virtue, which is never more clear and harmonious than when ſuppreſſed by Malice (1). The Flame of Valour is apt to die, if the Wind of Adverſity don't revive it; that awakens the Mind, and makes it look about for means to amend it. Happineſs, like the Roſe, grows out of Thorns and Miſeries. *Alphonſo* the Fifth, King of *Arragon*, was vanquiſh'd and taken in a Sea-fight with the *Genoeze*; and that, which in all probability was like to retard his Expedition againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*, was the very thing that furthered

(1) *Multorum improbitate depreſſa veritas emergit, & innocentia defenſa interclusa reſpirat.* Cicero.

it

it with greater Happineſs and Power; for by making a League with *Philip*, Duke of *Milan*, who retain'd him Priſoner, he obtain'd both his Liberty, and Forces for the Conqueſt of that Kingdom. Neceſſity compell'd him to get his Hoſt of his ſide; for in Proſperity, indeed, every one lives to himſelf alone, but in Adverſity for himſelf and others. Thoſe diſcloſe the Paſſions of the Mind, otherwiſe forgetful of it ſelf: Whereas, by this it learns Caution, and arms it ſelf with Virtues, as means to attain real and laſting Happineſs (2). Whence it is not a little eaſier to eſcape bad, than be continued in good Fortune. In Priſon firſt appeared *Alphonſo*'s extraordinary Endowments and Ornaments of Mind, which till then had lain hid; and the Duke of *Milan* charm'd with them, was ambitious of his Friendſhip, and laid theſe Obligations upon him. He obtain'd more by loſing the Victory, than he could have expected had he been Victor. Fortune ſports between Extreams, and takes delight in ſhewing her Power, in skipping from one to another. There is no Virtue but will ſhine in Adverſity, as no Star but ſparkles with greateſt Luſtre in the darkeſt Night. Then the weight ſhews the Palm's Strength when this is raiſed higher under it. The Roſe preſerves its Leaves longer freſh among Nettles than Flowers. Did not Virtue exert it ſelf in Adverſity too; it would not deſerve Victories or Triumphs. 'Tis its Property to Conquer by ſuffering. Whence it evidently appears, how impious the Error (confuted by us in another place) of thoſe is, who adviſe the Prince not to be bigotted to Virtue, but to comply with Vice when neceſſity ſhall require; a time in which he ought more particularly to approve himſelf conſtant in it, with greater hopes of Succeſs: As it uſually happned to the Emperor, *Ferdinand* the Second of Bleſſed Memory; who in his greateſt Dangers would reſolutely affirm, *He'd rather*

(2) *Secunda res acrioribus ſtimulis animum exploravit; quia miſeria tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

laſt

lose the Empire, and all be had, and with his whole Family beg from Door to Door, than to commit an unjust thing to maintain his Grandeur. Words truly worthy so Pious a Prince, whose exemplary Piety and Faith were so acceptable to God Almighty, that he vouchsafed to take the Imperial Scepter, and perform his Office here on Earth, giving him several signal and miraculous Victories. In the greatest Dangers and Distresses, when all hope fail'd, and humane Prudence and Valour were destitute of means, he always came off with most Success and greatest Triumph. The *Roman* Emperors of old lived in Affluence of Peace, and all manner of Delights, yet were tyrannized over by their own Passions, and rack'd by a thousand Fears. But this Pious Hero found Repose and Tranquility of Mind amidst the raging Tempests, which the Fury of Rebels raised against his Empire, and most August House. The just sings amidst Misfortunes, and the wicked Man weeps in his Impiety. Thus the fiery Furnace was as a Choire to the three Children (3). Miseries and Hardships are attended with great Advantages; they correct the Prince's Pride, and reduce him to Reason; with what fury does the Wind sometimes storm? How arrogantly does the Sea swell and rage, its foaming Billows like Mountains threatning Heaven and Earth! And yet a small Shower composes and calms it. Thus Misfortunes raining from Heaven allay the Prince's Pride and Presumption. They make a just Governor of a Tyrant, of a Prince careless and negligent of his Affairs, one careful and circumspect. For, then even Necessity obliges him to take Care of his People, to esteem Nobility, honour Valour, do Justice, and respect Religion. Power is never in greater Danger than when all things flow prosperously. For Cares being then laid aside, too much Security is apt to stifle Counsel and Prudence. Ease and Idleness has been the Ruin of more Princes than Labour. 'Tis with them as with Bodies,

(3) Dan. 3. 50.

which are kept in Vigor by Motion, without which they languiſh and decay. Whence it appears farther, how erroneous we are in our Judgments of Good and Evil, ſcarce ever knowing what is moſt for our Advantage. Adverſity we look on as Rigour and Chaſtiſement, when it is really Warning and Inſtruction. The Preſent of Ear-rings and a Sheep, which *Job*'s Friends and Relations made him, ſeems to intimate, that he ſhould endure all things with a patient, even Temper (4), and that thoſe Afflictions were precious Admonitions of God whiſper'd in his Ear. God's afflicting us ſometimes is wonderful Mercy, and on the contrary his Recompences are Puniſhments; for by theſe he clears, as it were, the Bill of our Debts, and by paying for ſome of our Merits, remains Creditor to our Offences; whereas by afflicting us, he at once pays himſelf, and excites us to Amendment.

(4) Job 42. 11.

EMBLEM XXXVI.

THE expert and prudent Seaman is not always carried at the Pleasure of the Wind, but rather by the Benefit of it, so disposes the Sails of his Ship, that he arrives at the desired Port, and with the same Wind sails at which he pleases of two opposite Shores, without endangering his Voyage.

But when the Heaven's calm; by the help of Sails and Oars he out strips even the Wind it self. With no less Care and Diligence the Prince ought to Steer the Vessel of the State in the tempestuous Sea of his Reign, so attentively observing all Storms that he may with Prudence and Valour make use of the same in their time and place. He is a Pilot, to whose Conduct the Life and Safety of all is committed; nor is any Ship more hazardous than a Crown exposed to so many Winds of Ambition,

ſo many Rocks of Enemies, and Storms of People. King *Sancho* the Brave needed all his Induſtry to arm himſelf againſt Fortune, and ſecure the Right of his Crown. Almoſt the whole Science of Politicks conſiſts in knowing how to diſcern Times, and make uſe of them: A Storm ſometimes bringing a Ship ſooner into Harbour than a Calm. He, who can break the force of ill Fortune, renders it favourable; and one that knowing a Danger yields to it, and gives it time, at length ſurmounts it. When the Sailor finds there is no contending with the Billows, he ſtrikes Sail and abandons himſelf to them; and becauſe his Reſiſtance would rather add force to the Wind, uſes ſome narrow Creek to reſt his Ship in, and ſhelter it from the Waves. Something muſt be granted Dangers, if one would eſcape them. *James* the Firſt, King of *Arragon*, was ſenſible of the Averſion his Nobles and People had to him, and that it was by no means convenient to increaſe their Fury by an untimely Oppoſition, but rather to give it time to ſink of it ſelf; as Rivers do, whoſe Waters in a Tempeſt ſwell and overflow their Banks, voluntarily ſuffer'd himſelf to be play'd upon, and as it were impriſoned, till he reſtored all things to their former Calmneſs and Tranquility, and reinſtated himſelf in the Throne. The ſame diſcreet Moderation Queen *Mary* uſed, when by ſiding with the Grandees, and ſatisfying their Ambition, ſhe preſerved the Crown of *Caſtile*, during the Minority of her Son, *Ferdinand* the Fourth †. Did the Sailor think it a diſhonour to yield to a Storm, and were reſolved with Sail and Oars to withſtand it, his Ruin would be inevitable. Conſtancy conſiſts not in unſeaſonable ſtruggling, but in hoping, and ſo enduring Danger, without letting Fortune get the upper hand of one. In ſuch Caſes the Glory is to eſcape ſafe. What ſeems Baſeneſs of Mind in them, is afterwards Magnanimity crown'd with Succeſs. When King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, ſaw himſelf

† Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.

deprived

deprived of his Kingdom, putting his whole Confidence in the King of *Morocco*'s Aſſiſtance, made no difficulty to beg of *Alphonſo de Guzman*, Governor of St. *Lucar de Barameda*, who upon ſome Diſguſt had retired to that Prince's Court, that forgetting all former Injuries, and remembring their ancient Amity, and his Nobility, he would ſtand his Friend, and endeavour to be an Inſtrument of that King's ſupplying him with Men and Money. Which Letters are to this Day kept in that moſt Illuſtrious and Ancient Houſe.

Nevertheleſs Kings ought not to yield to their Subjects violence, unleſs in Caſes of Extremity, for he very little conſults his Authority, who debaſes himſelf by too much Condeſcention. The diſhonourable Terms King *Ferdinand* the Holy, conſtrain'd by his Non-age, made the Houſe of *Zara*, no way appeaſed them. Nor could *Iſabella* reclaim *Alphonſo Carillo*, Biſhop of *Toledo*, though ſhe honour'd him with a Viſit at *Alcala*. I confeſs in deſperate Caſes, prudence is wont to try all ways that Chance can render poſſible. It is great Courage and Strength of Reaſon, on Occaſions of that Nature to reſtrain the Spirits, and weigh the preſent Neceſſity, and greatneſs of the Danger againſt ſuch means as may contribute more to the State's Preſervation. No one was ever more Jealous of his Grandeur than *Tiberius*, yet he diſſembled the Boldneſs of *Lentulus Germanicus*, who having the Command of the *German* Legions, was ſo audacious as to write to him with Threats, not to ſend him a Succeſſor, covenanting as 'twere to let his Prince enjoy the Empire, provided he were continued in his Province (1); and he, who could not put up the Emulation of his Sons, took this ſlight patiently. Not but he knew the ill Conſequence of letting ſuch Diſobedience go unpuniſhed, but if he oppoſed it, he conſider'd he ſhould incurr the publick Odium; that he was now in Years, and in a State where

(1) *Reputante Tiberio, publicum ſibi odium, extremam ætatem, magiſque fama, quam vi ſtare res ſuas.* Tac. 6. Ann.

his Affairs depended more upon Reputation than Strength. Subjects would be little beholding to the Valour of the Prince who governs them, if he ſhould preſently in ill Fortune ſubmit to Neceſſity; and on the other ſide as little to his Prudence, if when that Fortune can't be overcome, he will however withſtand it. Courage ſhould be moderated by Prudence and Addreſs, and what cannot be effected by Strength, ſhould be the Work of Art and Induſtry. 'Tis no leſs glorious to avoid than to ſurmount a Danger. To fly it always is Sloth; to expect, Ignorance or Surprize; to deſpair Cowardice. Men of Courage make Head againſt Fortune her ſelf. The Prince's Duty and End is not lightly to conteſt with his State upon the Billows, but to conduct it to the Haven of Preſervation and Safety. That is eſteemed valiant Wiſdom, which draws Benefit out of Adverſity; as alſo, that which by ſtruggling compaſſes its Ends ſooner. Kings, the Maſters of Times and Things, are always followed, never led by them. There's no Building, but whoſe Ruins, with what Addition Induſtry is wont to make, may Erect a more ſtately Fabrick: Nor any State ſo intirely abandon'd by Fortune, that Valour cannot preſerve, and even advance, provided it conſult Prudence upon Events, and know how to make right uſe of them, or at leaſt to turn them to its Advantage. *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, had divided between them the Kingdom of *Naples*; and the great Captain knowing the Circle of a Crown to have but one Center, and that Empire admits of no Companion, endeavoured immediately to get his Maſter's Share into his Hands; that in Caſe of after Diſputes, which he foreſaw would ariſe between thoſe two Kings, he might be the more at leaſure, and uſe them afterwards to diſpoſſeſs the King of *France* of his Part, as in Effect it happned. Accidents, it is true, have ſome force; but we increaſe or diminiſh them according to our Carriage under them. Our Ignorance gives Divinity and Power to Fortune, in that

we lightly reſign our ſelves to her Viciſſitudes. Did we change our Cuſtoms and Meaſures as oft as ſhe does the Times, ſhe would not be ſo powerful, nor we ſo ſubject to her Empire. The Make of our Cloaths we alter with the Mode, but neglect our Mind and Manners. What Wind does not the skilful Pilot make ſerviceable to his Voyage? As that veres he trims his Sails, and thus all conduce to the end he propoſes. We refuſe to ſhake off the ill Habits of our Nature, either out of Self-love or Imprudence, and afterwards lay the fault on Caſualty. We grow deſperate before we ſeek to remedy our Misfortunes, and through Obſtinacy or Inadvertency, let Deſpair get the Aſcendant over us. We cannot in Adverſity lay aſide that Pride, Anger, Vain-glory, Detraction, and thoſe other Vices which Proſperity bred in us; nor are without great difficulty induc'd to acknowledge them that have brought us into that unhappy Condition. Every moment in every Affair, with whomſoever of his Subjects the Prince ſhall have to do, he ought to differ from himſelf and change his Nature. Nor does this require any extraordinary Knowledge, but a certain Diſpoſition only, and Capacity to adapt ones ſelf to all Contingences, and Prudence to foreſee them.

Now, as we are loſt in Adverſity for want of furling the Sails of our Paſſions, and ſubmitting to it for a time; ſo alſo do we bring Deſtruction upon our ſelves and Princes, when we indiſcreetly and conceitedly go about to meaſure their Intereſt, Paſſions, and Inclinations, by our own Natures and Advantages: It being impoſſible for a Miniſter of a liberal Temper to exert his Generoſity under a Covetous, Griping Prince; or one Valiant and Active with one Slothful and Cowardly. Our Motions ſhould be regulated by the Activity of the Prince's Sphere. This was a fault in *Corbulo*, who ſerving *Claudius*, a puſilanimous, mean-ſpirited Prince, made many raſh Attempts, by

which he could not but be diſagreeable to him (4). In ſome Miniſters an imprudent Zeal is the cauſe of this Error; in others, which is moſt frequent, Self-love and Vain-glory, which makes them deſirous to appear prudent in the Eyes of the World, and ſhew their Ability, as if, forſooth, by their means alone the Prince ſucceeded; but that whatever he undertakes by himſelf, or others, is faulty; and thus under Colour of Zeal they publiſh the Goverment's Defects, and diſcredit their Prince: Artifices which generally the Miniſter himſelf feels the Effect of afterwards by the loſs of his Prince's Favour. He that conſults his Intereſt, and would eſtabliſh his Fortune, muſt with all poſſible ſpeed fly ſuch Affectations, as odious to the Prince and whole World; he ſhould be more ſerviceable in Deed than in Word; he ſhould conform to the Prince's Nature and Condition, reducing him to Reaſon, and his Duty, under Colour of Service, with Humility and a quiet Induſtry, without Noiſe and Arrogance (5). It is the ruin of Valour and Virtue to be too nice Obſervers of Conſtancy, and to think that their whole Reputation depends upon it; for in the mean time others more various, who can transform themſelves into any Shape, and ſuit theirs to the Prince's Nature, carry away the Gratuities and Preferments.

But theſe are not to be uſed with *Aleto*'s Deſign, to deceive; but to prevent being unadviſedly ruined at Court, or to render one more ſerviceable to the Prince, for there are ſome of ſuch a Make, that it is abſolutely neceſſary for the Miniſter to put on their Nature; and as I may ſay, to creep into them, to make them move and act; as Men, who neither will be directed by others Counſel, nor can diſpatch their own (6). And conſequently not always what is moſt

(4) *Cur hoſtem concitet? adverſa in Remp. caſura; ſin proſperè egiſſet, formidoloſum pari virum inſignem, & ignavo principi prægravem.* Tac. 2. Ann. (5) Tac. 3. Ann. (6) *Neque alienis conſiliis regi, neque ſua expedire.* Tac. 3. Hiſt.

expedient

expedient is to be adviſed a Prince, but what he is in Duty oblig'd to execute. Thoſe courageous Counſels which were given *Vitellius*, though the beſt in the World, were uſeleſs becauſe he wanted Reſolution to put them in Practice (7); he was uſually deaf to them. Miniſters are as it were the Prince's Sails. Now, if they are large, and the Prince a ſhallow Veſſel, if they are always looſed without Conſideration of the Burthen of the Boat, they will certainly overſet it.

(7) *Surda ad fortia conſilia Vitellii aures.* Tac. 3. Hiſt.

E. M.

EMBLEM XXXVII.

THAT the Prince may not escape the Storm without full Instructions in all Accidents that ill Fortune can throw him into; this Device represents the choice of the lesser Evil, when the greater are inevitable. Thus the Pilot, when he has lost all hopes of being saved by Opposition, or Compliance with the Tempest, endeavours to make the Land, and run his Ship ashore; where, if he lose his Ship, yet he saves his Life and Merchandize. It was very commendable in the *Romans*, that when they could not oppose Fortune, they provided for their own Security. The Prince's Valour consists not only in resisting, but withal in weighing Dangers, and submitting to the less, when the greater is insuperable. For as it is the part of Prudence to prevent, so it is of Courage and Constancy

to

to bear patiently what is not in the power of Prudence to decline, a thing *Alphonſo* the Sixth was a great Maſter of; a Prince modeſt in Proſperity, valiant in Adverſity, never unprepar'd for any Accident. 'Tis a Vain-glory of a Prince, who with more Temerity than Valour, chooſes rather to die in the greater Danger, than eſcape in the leſſer. He conſults more his own Fame than the Publick Safety; or rather wants Courage to deſpiſe the Opinions of the Multitude, who inconſiderately, and without any knowledge of the Accidents, condemn prudent Reſolutions; and when in Danger, are againſt having recourſe to Remedies ſo dangerous and violent. That ſometimes looks like Courage is Cowardice; where preſence of Mind is wanting to hope in danger, the Confuſion of Fear caſts us into it. When Prudence and Fortitude go hand in hand, then Conſideration takes place; and if it find not ſafety in the leſſer, is not afraid to encounter the greater Danger. 'Tis a baſe weakneſs to die with fear. There is no Valour like what neceſſity inſpires. 'Tis commonly the laſt Remedy in deſperate caſes, neither to hope nor quite deſpair. Thus a Ship not daring to truſt the Shore, abandons it ſelf to the wide Sea, and by the force of its Billows eſcapes. One Peril is ordinarily the Remedy of another. Upon this, I conceive, was grounded the Counſel ſome gave *Galba* in a Conſpiracy againſt him, to oppoſe the firſt fury of it (1). *Garcias Gomez* defended the Fort of *Xerez*, (which he was Governor of in the time of *Alphonſo* the Wiſe) and although he ſaw all his Men kill'd or wounded, would not Surrender, nor accept the Terms, though honourable, which the Moors offer'd him; for having little Confidence in them, he choſe rather to die gloriouſly in the Arms of his Fidelity, than thoſe of his Enemies; and what in all appearance was like to coſt him his Life, in a wonderful manner charm'd his Ene-

(1) *Proinde intuta quæ indecora, vel ſi cadere neceſſe ſit, occurrendum putavi*, Tac. 1. Hiſt.

mies,

mies, who admiring his Bravery and Reſolution, by a Hook drew him out of the Citadel alive, uſing him with great Civility, and carefully dreſſing the Wounds he had receiv'd during the Siege †. Such is the force of Valour, that it captivates even Enemies. Courage has given life to more than Fear. I know not what Divinity attends and reſcues it from Dangers. When *Ferdinand*, the Holy, beſieg'd *Sevil*, *Garcias Perez de Vargas*, a Citizen of *Toledo*, with another, being ſeparated from their Company, were paſſing along the River *Guadalquivir*, when on a ſudden they ſpy ſeven *Mooriſh* Horſe making towards them: His Comerade adviſes him to retire, but *Garcias* not to incurr the Ignominy of Cowardice by a diſhonourable Flight, pulls down the Vizer of his Helmet, brandiſhes his Sword and advances by himſelf: The *Moors* knowing his Perſon, and admiring his Reſolution, let him paſs without attacking him. Thus his Heroick Valour ſav'd him; for had he fled with his Companion, the Enemy had in all probability purſued and took him Priſoner. It requires a Mind free and diſingag'd to examine Dangers; firſt in the Report, and afterwards in the Quality of them: In the Rumour, becauſe thoſe are generally eſteem'd greateſt which are fartheſt off. The People hear and tremble at them, and ſeditiouſly ſpread and increaſe them, rejoycing at their own Misfortunes becauſe unuſual, or out of Diſaffection to the preſent Government. It is therefore the Prince's part to appear firm, and to diſperſe ſuch idle Apprehenſions. As upon thoſe Reports which were ſpread in the time of *Tiberius*, of the Revolt of the Provinces of *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, he never betrayed the leaſt diſcompoſure, nor chang'd his Reſidence, nor way of living, as well knowing the levity of ſuch Reports (a). If once a Prince ſurrender to Fear, he will be ever

† Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp. (a) *Tanto impenſius in ſecuritatem compoſuit, neque loco, neque vultu mutato, ſed ut ſolitum per illos dies egit; alitudine animi, an compererat, modica eſſe & vulgatis leviora?* Tac. 3. Hiſt.

after

after uncapable of resolving. For then prudent Counsels and popular Rumours will be receiv'd with equal credit. As they were by *Vitellius* in the Civil War with *Vespasian* (3). Dangers imminent appear greatest, being cloath'd by Fear with horror, and by Presence magnified; and we by endeavouring to escape them, fall into others abundantly greater, which though they seem at a distance, we afterwards find too near. 'Tis idle to imagine we can avert them by interposing a little time. Many have vanished by being resisted, on the contrary, Opposition has encreas'd others, and they have prov'd real, which were only imaginary. As it happened to the *Syrians* Army before *Samaria* (4). Fear of danger has destroy'd more than Danger it self. What vain Apprehension can do? We have within these few Years seen at a publick Bull-fight at *Madrid*, when a suddain Bruit being rais'd of some danger in the place where they fought, struck Confusion and Terror into all, though not one knew the Reason. The confus'd Flight of some increased the Consternation, and because none would stay to know the certainty, many ran into the Jaws of Death by the same way they took to escape it; and the Consequence had been much worse, had not the Constancy of *Philip* the Fourth, whom every ones Eyes were upon, unmov'd at the Commotion and Rumour, rais'd the trembling Spirits of his Subjects, except the Prince in Dangers and Misfortunes of this Nature, can repress the Peoples fears, Counsels are confounded, all Command, and none Obey.

To be too cautious in avoiding Dangers, is sometimes the utter Ruin of States. *Frederick*, Count *Palatine*, had not lost his, and his Electorate, had not fear after his Defeat given Wings to him to abandon all: for he might easily have retired to *Prague*, or some

(3) Quia in metu consilia prudentium, & vulgi rumor juxta audiuntur. Ibid. (4) 2 Kings 6. 7.

other

other place, with the Remnant of his Forces, and compounded with the Emperor, ſo by making choice of the leſſer Evil have eſcap'd the greater.

We are oftentimes deluded by fear ſo diſguiſed, that we take it for Prudence, and Conſtancy for Raſhneſs. We ſometimes boggle, and are at a ſtand what to reſolve, and in the interim the Danger ſteals on us. All things are not to be fear'd, nor is Deliberation always required; for between Prudence and Precipitation, Valour often deſigns noble Actions. The Great Captain having entered the River *Garillan* with his Army, was reduc'd to ſuch Streights, that his Soldiers mutined and deſerted; and when his Officers adviſed him to Retreat, he anſwered, *This I have reſolv'd with my ſelf, rather to gain Ground, though but enough for a Grave, than give back a ſtep, might I live an hundred Years.* An Heroick Sentence, worthy the Courage and Prudence of ſo Great a Man. He well knew, that without Raſhneſs there was no hope, in the Caſe he then was; but weighing the Danger againſt the Credit of his Arms, the only ſupport of his Faction in the Kingdom, which entirely depended upon the Succeſs of that Expedition, he choſe rather to put all to the riſque of one Battel, and maintain his Repute, than to loſe by degrees with diſhonour. How often for want of a timely Inciſion have we let Wounds feſter and ſpread.

Some Dangers vaniſh of themſelves, others are increaſed by negligence, and waſt Kingdoms inſenſibly, and make them periſh as it were by a Conſumption. Some are unknown; of theſe one can't be too Cautious, for that they ſurpriſe before a Remedy can be provided. Others are known but ſlighted, by their negligence, and too much confidence are uſually ſufferers. No Danger, though never ſo inconſiderable ſhould be deſpiſed, for Time, and other Accidents often augment them, and Valour conſiſts not ſo much in vanquiſhing,

vanquishing, as in diverting Dangers. To live in sight thereof, is as bad as to suffer them (5).

Nor is the Confidence we put in another's Clemency less treacherous, when to decline one Danger we fall into a greater, as when we surrender our selves at Discretion to an Enemy; we consider in him only the generosity of Pardon, not the force of Revenge or Ambition; we measure his Compassion by our Grief and Affliction, and are apt to persuade our selves that we can move him to relieve us. When *James* the Third, King of *Majorca*, was too weak for his Brother-in-Law, *Peter* the Fourth of *Arragon*, who upon I know not what pretence would dispossess him of his Dominions; he put himself into his Hands, thinking this Submission would obtain what his Arms could not; but that King was more influenc'd by Ambition than Clemency, so that he deprived him of his Kingdom and Title. Thus Dangers deceive us, and we find that to be the greater, which we chose as the lesser. There can be no assurance in Counsel grounded on Principles that depend on anothers pleasure. We deceive our selves in supposing others will act nothing but what is agreeable to Religion, Justice, Relation, or Friendship, or but what is consistent with their Honour and Interest. Not considering that Men are not always guided by their Advantage or Duty, but rather by their private Passions and Sentiments; and consequently their Actions are not only to be examined by the Rule of Reason, but also by that of Malice, and the Experience of the ordinary Injustices and Tyrannies of the World.

Dangers are a Prince's best Masters. The past teach how to remedy the present, and prevent the future: Those of others are, 'tis true, instructing, but they

(5) *Nemo mortalium juxta viperam securos somnos capit, quæ etsi non percutiat certe solicitat; tutius est perire non posse, quam juxta periculum non periisse.* Sanct. Hier.

are

are eaſily forgot. Our own leave in the Soul ſome Marks and Scars of the loſſes ſuſtain'd, as that which has once wounded the Imagination does fear. Let not then contempt or forgetfulneſs ever eraſe them, eſpecially when having eſcap'd a Danger, we fancy the ſame will never return, or if it does, will not annoy us; for though ſome one Circumſtance, which is very unlikely to happen a ſecond time, may remove Dangers, yet other ſucceeding new ones make them unavoidable.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM XXXVIII.

FROM Nature, this universal Commonwealth of things, and Empire of mixt Bodies, derive their Original, the supreme Government of which she lays claim to; and for the more firm establishment, and more secure maintaining of it, has made her self so loved by them, that the Elements, even in the midst of their contrariety with an admirable consent, conspire to preserve it. All things would be soon dissolv'd, did they hate Nature their Princess and Sovereign, who with mutual ties of Love and Benevolence, as with the fastest knot, unites them. It is this Love which holds the Earth *in Æquilibrio*, and makes the Orbs of Heaven whirl round it. Let this Monarchy of things created, founded in their first Being, be a Lesson to defend their Persons and Subjects by affection,

the moſt faithfull guard they can have about them (1).

Claud. *Not Guards, nor Groves of Pikes defend like Love.* This is the only impregnable Fort (2). For which reaſon the Bees elect a King without a Sting, for he has no need of Arms, who is beloved by his Subjects. Nature would by no means have it in his power to hurt, whoſe duty 'tis to govern, leaſt he become odious, and promote his own ruin. *The greateſt and moſt abſolute power a Prince can have* (ſays K. *Alphonſo*) *is when he loves his People, and they reciprocally love him.* The body defends the Head, upon account of the Love it bears it, in conſideration, that this directs and preſerves it: elſe would it not hold up its arm toward the threatning blow. Who would expoſe himſelf to Hazards, except he had a Love for his Prince? Who protect and defend his Crown? The whole Kingdom of *Caſtile* ſided with the Infant *Henry*, againſt K. *Peter* the Cruel, becauſe the one was beloved by all, the other as univerſally hated. The firſt Principle of the ruin of Kingdoms, and all the Revolutions in States is Hatred. The Kings *Ordonno* and *Fruela* the Second were ſo abominated by their Subjects, that the very name of King became odious; *Caſtile* was reduc'd into a Commonwealth, and the Government divided between two Judges, one of which adminiſtred affairs of Peace, the other thoſe of War †. *Portugal* never took up Arms againſt its Kings, nor revolted from its obedience; the reaſon is, it bears a ſincere affection towards them; and if at any time it has excluded one and admitted another, 'twas, becauſe one was belov'd, the other for Male-adminiſtration hated. It was the advice of *James* the Firſt of *Aragon* to *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, to ſeek rather the Love than Fear of his Subjects, and to ingratiate himſelf with the Clergy and Commons, that he might be the better able to grapple with the Nobility; which Counſel if he had follow'd, he had never loſt the Crown. *Nero* no ſooner ceas'd to be

(1) *Corporis cuſtodiam tutiſſimam eſſe putatam in virtute amicorum, tum in benevolentia civium eſſe collocatam.* Iſocr. ad Nic. (2) *Salvum Principem in aperto clementia præſtabit, vivum erit inexpugnabile monumentum amor civium.* Sen. de Clem. lib. 1. ca. 19. † Mar. hiſt. Hiſp.

lov'd,

lov'd, than Conſpiracies were form'd againſt him, a thing which *Subrius Flavius* upbraided him with to his face (3). A King's Power and Majeſty conſiſt not in his own Perſon, but in the Affection and good Will of his Subjects. If they be diſaffected, who will oppoſe his Enemies? 'Tis Preſervation makes the people want a King, but that can never be expected from one, who makes himſelf hated. The *Arragonians* prudently foreſaw this, when having call'd to the Crown *Peter Altharez* Lord of *Borgia*, from whom the moſt ancient and illuſtrious Family of the Dukes of *Gandia* is deſcended, they afterwards repented, and would not have him for their King, becauſe they ſaw he us'd them with Auſterity and Rigour, even before his Election. Contrary to what *Ferdinand* the Firſt, King of *Arragon* did, who by Love and Benevolence, engag'd the hearts of all in that Kingdom, as alſo in *Caſtile* during his Reign there. We have ſeen many Princes ruin'd by Fear, none ever by Love. If therefore a Prince would be formidable, let it be to his Enemies, but let him endeavour to be belov'd by his Subjects; without which, though he come victorious over them, he will at laſt fall by the hands of theſe. As it befell *Bardanus* King of *Perſia* (4). Love and Reſpect may be joyned, but not Love and ſervile Fear. He who is fear'd is hated, and he who is hated is by no means ſecure.

Quem metuunt, oderunt.
Quem quiſque odit periiſſe expedit. Enn.

He who is fear'd by many, alſo fears many. And what greater misfortune is there, than to command thoſe who obey through Fear, and govern Bodies rather than Minds? The difference between the juſt Prince and the Tyrant is, That one uſes Arms to maintain his Subjects in Peace, the other to protect himſelf againſt them. If the ſtrength and

(3) *Nec quiſquam tibi fidelior militum fuit, dum amari metuiſti, odiſſe cepi poſtquam parricida Matris & Uxoris, auriga, hiſtrio, & incendiarius extitiſti.* Tac. 15. ann. (4) *Claritudine paucos inter ſenatum Regum, ſi perinde amorem inter populares, quam metum apud hoſtes quæſiviſſet.* Tac. 11. ann.

power of a Prince hated, be ſmall, he is much expoſed to danger from his Subjects; if great, yet much more. For the greater their fear is, the more ſollicitous are they to provide for their Security, as apprehending his cruelty will encreaſe with his Grandeur, as in *Bardanus* King of *Perſia*, whoſe Glory made him more ſevere and inſupportable to his Subjects (5). If not for fear of danger, at leaſt in gratitude, a Prince ſhould avoid being terrible to thoſe by whom he reigns. Whence that was a very unworthy ſaying of *Caligula*, *Let them hate me, ſo they fear me*; as if the ſecurity of Empire conſiſted in Fear: Whereas no power can be laſting where fear bears the ſway. And though *Seneca* ſaid, *He knows not how to govern, who is too fearfull of Hatred*; *Fear defends Kingdoms*: 'Tis a Tyrannick Maxim, or is to be underſtood of that vain Fear which ſometimes Princes are in of offending others, even when their Commands are juſt, which doubtleſs is dangerous, and not a little derogatory from their Authority. He can never reign, who wants Conſtancy and Courage to deſpiſe the Hatred of ill men, to preſerve the good. Nor is *Caligula's* Sentence juſtifi'd by that of the Emperor *Tiberius*; *Let them hate me, ſo they approve me.* For no action of a perſon hated is ever approv'd. Hatred blames all, and puts the worſt Conſtruction on every thing. When once a Prince is hated, his good actions as well as bad are interpreted againſt him. It ſeems neceſſary for a Tyrant to keep his Subjects in awe, in as much as his Empire being violent, muſt be ſupported by violent means, there wanting thoſe two Obligations of Nature and voluntary Subjection, which, as *Alphonſo* the Wiſe ſays, *are the greateſt Debts a man can owe his Lord.* And the Tyrant ſenſible, that without theſe bands 'tis impoſſible there ſhould be real Love between him and his Subjects, endeavours by force to make Fear effect what ought to proceed from natural Affection; and as his diſturbed Conſcience fears Cruelty againſt it ſelf, it exerciſes it upon others (6). But the lamentable examples of all Tyrants abundantly ſhew

(5) *Ingens gloria, atque eo ſorctior, & ſubjectis intolerantior*, Tac. 11. ann. (6) Wiſd. 17. 11.

how

how ſhort-liv'd this method is. For though we ſee the Empires of the *Turks*, *Muſcovites* and *Tartars* have been continued for many Ages by Fear alone, yet theſe barbarous Nations ought not to be made a Precedent: Their Manners are ſo ſavage, that they ſeem to have more of the Brute than the Man, being commonly led more by Puniſhment than reaſon, and conſequently by that only can be kept in ſubjection, as Brutes are not tamed but by Force and Fear. Yet generous Spirits ſuffer not themſelves to be compell'd or cheated into Obedience, but are induc'd thereto by ſincerity and reaſon. *For*, ſays King *Alphonſo*, *our people being loyal and couragious, their Loyalty ought to be maintain'd by truth, and their Courage by right and juſtice.*

There is uſually 'twixt the Prince and his Subjects ſuch a kind of inclination and natural Sympathy, as renders him amiable without any more care; for a Prince who deſerv'd Hatred is ſometimes lov'd, and on the contrary one hated who merited Love. And though eminent Vertues and Accompliſhments of Mind and Body are wont of themſelves to challenge Love, yet they have not always this effect, unleſs accompanied with an agreeable kind of Humour, a ſweet, obliging Air, which through the Eyes, as Windows of the Mind, ſhews the inward Goodneſs, and engages mens Affections. Beſides that, accidents which could not be prevented, or ſome ſiniſter apprehenſion may ſo break this Love and good Will between the Prince and Subject, that it can never after be re-united; yet much may be done in that caſe by skill and addreſs, in knowing how to govern to the ſatisfaction of the Nobles and Commons, avoiding giving them any occaſion of diſpleaſure, and behaving himſelf in all particulars, ſo as to create a good opinion of his Government. But ſince the means whereby the Affections of Subjects may be procur'd, are every where ſcatter'd through this Book, I ſhall only ſay here in general, that nothing contributes more to the obtaining it, than Religion, Juſtice and Liberality.

But becauſe without ſome Species of Fear, Love would be ſoon turn'd to Contempt, and the edge of Regal Autho-

rity blunted (7), it is highly requisite, that Subjects entertain such an awe as arises from Respect and Veneration, not that which is the result of danger from Injustice and Tyranny. So necessary it is for a Prince to make himself feared by not suffering Indignities, maintaining Justice, and abhorring Vice, that without such an awe in Subjects, 'twould be impossible to be long secure: For all naturally desire Liberty, and the inferior part of man rebells against Reason, and is incorrigible but by Fear. The Prince must therefore tame his Subjects as the Horse-courser breaks his Colt, (the figure of the present Emblem) who with the same hand strokes and curries him and threatens him with the Whip. Both the Rod and the Manna were kept in the Ark of the Tabernacle, to intimate, as I imagin, that Rigour and Clemency should be joyn'd in the Prince's person. God's Rod and Staff comforted *David*; for if that wounded, this supported him (8). When God gave the Law of the Decalogue to the *Israelites* on Mount *Sinai*, he at once terrified them with Thunder and Lightning, and pleasing, allur'd them with Heavenly Musick; both the one and the other is necessary to preserve a Love and Veneration in Subjects. Let this therefore be the Prince's Study, to make himself at once lov'd and fear'd: lov'd, as the Protector of his People; fear'd, as the Soul of the Law, upon which all their Lives and Estates depend: lov'd for his Rewards, fear'd for his Punishments: lov'd for his Goodness, fear'd for his Authority: lov'd as a Promoter of Peace, fear'd as Arbiter of War. So that the good in loving him may find cause to fear: the Bad in fearing him may find something to love in him. This Fear is as necessary to the preservation of the Sceptre, as that which proceeds from the Pride, Injustice, and Tyranny of the Prince, is prejudicial and dangerous to it, in leading to Despair (9). The one procures his Liberty with the Prince's Ruin; God breaking the Staff of the wicked, and the Sceptre of such as rule with too much severity (10).

(7) *Timere Princeps aciem authoritatis suæ non patitur hebescere.* Cic. 1. Cat. (8) Ps. 22. 4. Exod. 19. (9) *Ita agere in subjectis, ut magis vereantur severitatem, quam ut sævitiam ejus detestentur.* Colum. (10) Isa. 14. 5, 6.

Whereas

Whereas the other by conforming himſelf to Reaſon, ſtudies to avoid his Anger and Puniſhment. This Fear is of the ſame brood with Love. For there can be no Love without fear of loſing the Object lov'd, and care to continue in its favour. But ſince 'tis not ſo much in the Prince's power to beget Love as Fear, 'tis better for him to ground his ſecurity on this than that alone, which as the product of the Will is various and inconſtant; nor is any artificial Flattery, any forc'd Complaiſance ſufficient to gain the Hearts of all. That Prince I take for a great Governour, who alive is fear'd, and dead, lov'd by his Subjects; as *Ferdinand* the *Catholick* was, for if he be not lov'd, 'twill ſuffice that he is eſteem'd and fear'd.

EMBLEM XXXIX.

THere is an ancient Medal to be ſeen, upon the Reverſe of which is engraven a flaſh of Lightning upon an Altar, to ſignifie, that a Prince's ſeveri-

ty ought to yield to Prayers: an Emblem offensive to the Eyes, the Lightning of Punishment being represented so lively and so near to Pardon, that fear may be apt to dash all hope in the goodness of the Altar. And though it be fit sometimes, that the looks of the Prince before whom the criminal bends, should at once represent the Terror of Justice, and Mildness of Mercy; yet this is not always proper, for that were contrary to the advice of the H. Spirit, who would have Life and Clemency shine in a King's Countenance (1). In this Emblem therefore, instead of the Lightning I have plac'd upon the Altar the Golden Fleece, introduc'd by *Philip* the Good Duke of *Burgundy*, not to signifie, as many imagin, the fabulous Fleece of *Colchos*, but that of *Gideon*, which for a token of Victory was moistned with the Dew of Heaven, when all the Country about it was dry (2). A Symbol whereby Meekness and Humility is express'd, as the same is signified by that immaculate Lamb the Son of God, offer'd for the World's Salvation. The Prince is a Victim devoted to Fatigues and Dangers for the common good of his Subjects. A precious Fleece, rich in Dew and other Blessings of Heaven. Here they ought at all times to find wherewithal to quench their Thirst, to redress their Grievances; let him be always affable, always sincere and benign towards them, which will be more effectual than severity. Upon the sight of *Alexander*'s pleasing Looks, the Conspirators immediately threw down their Arms. The serenity of *Augustus* tied the hands of the *Gaul*, who went to throw him down a Precipice in the *Alps*. The modest and sweet Temper of King *Ordonno* the first strangely won the Hearts of his Subjects. *Sancho* the Third was called the *Desired*, not so much for the shortness of his Life, as for his Affability. And the *Arragonians* received *Ferdinand* the Infant, King *Martin*'s Nephew to the Crown, upon liking they took to his obliging Demeanour. Modesty and good Humour all must love. Obedience is sufficiently heavy and odious of it self; let not the Prince add Rigour to it; for that is a File, wherewith natural Liberty generally

(1) Prov. 16. 15. (2) Jud. 6. 37.

cuts

cuts the chains of Slavery. If Princes in Adverſity think Complaiſance and Humanity to be uſed for a remedy, why ſhould it not as well in Proſperity for a Preſervative? The benign Aſpect of the Prince gains a pleaſing Empire over mens minds; 'tis a diſſimulation of Sovereignty.

By Complacency, I do not here mean that which is ſo vulgar, that it begets Contempt, but which has ſo agreeable a mixture of Gravity and Authority, as leaves room for Love, but a Love attended with reſpect: for where this is wanting, that is apt to turn too familiar and aſpire to an Equality. And if the auguſt part of Majeſty be not maintain'd, there will be no difference between the Prince and Subject (3). Some ornament of the Perſon (as has been before hinted) and a well temper'd Gravity is requiſite to ſupport the Royal Dignity; for I can by no means approve of a Prince's making himſelf ſo familiar with every one, that it may be ſaid of him as it was of *Agricola*, who was ſo plain in his dreſs, ſo condeſcending and familiar, that many ſought his Fame in his perſon, but few found it (4). For what is common, no one admires, and reſpect is the genuine effect of admiration. Some grave ſeverity muſt appear in the Prince's face, and ſomething extraordinary in his Carriage and Royal Port to ſhew ſupreme power; but this ſeverity ſhould be ſo qualified by Sweetneſs, that jointly they may beget Love and Reverence in the Subject, not Fear (5). The Sword has been often drawn in *France* againſt the Regal Majeſty, for being too familiar. Affability muſt not diminiſh Authority, nor Severity Love; a thing *Tacitus* admir'd in *Agricola*, (6.) and commended in the Emperor *Titus*, who appear'd affable to his Soldiers without deroga-

(3) *Comitas facile fauſtum omne atterit, & in familiari conſuetudine agri cuſtodias illud opinionis auguſtum.* Herod. lib. 1. (4) *Cultu modico, ſermone facilis; adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem æſtimare mos eſt, viſo aſpectuque Agricolæ, quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur.* Tac. in vit. Agr. (5) *Et videri volle non aſperum, ſed cum gravitate honeſtum, & talem, ut eum non timeant obvii, ſed magis vereantur.* Ariſt. Pol. lib. 5. c. 11. (6) *Nec illi quod rariſſimum eſt, aut facilitas authoritatem, aut ſeveritas amorem diminuit.* Tac. in vit. Agr.

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ting from his Authority as General (7). Let the Prince compoſe his Looks, that they may at once aſſert Authority and invite Love; let him appear grave, not auſtere; animate, not drive into Deſpair: looking always with a gracefull, agreeable Smile, uſing words complaiſant, and gravely courteous. Some think themſelves no Princes, except they ſhew ſomething irregular in their Expreſſions, Looks and Port, contrary to the common way of other men: ſo ignorant Statuaries think the art and perfection of a Coloſs, conſiſts in having bloated Cheeks, blubber Lips, lowring Brows and ſquint Eyes.

True Greatneſs doth not conſiſt in mighty State, †
In lofty Mein and Words, or haughty Gate.

King *Abaſuerus* was of ſo terrible an Aſpect, that Queen *Heſter* coming into his preſence fell into a Swoon (9), and had not recovered, but that the King, his Spirit being changed by a divine Impreſſion (10), held out the Scepter (11), to ſhew her it was but a piece of gilded Wood, and himſelf a Man, not a Viſion as ſhe imagined (12). If Majeſty too ſevere and diſorderly could produce this Effect in a Queen, what will it in a private perſon oppreſſed with Poverty and Affliction? The Holy Scriptures call a Prince Phyſician (13), and Father (14), and neither this cures nor that governs with Inhumanity.

But if upon occaſion, the Prince frowns upon a Subject, let his Reprimands begin with an Encomium on his Virtues, afterwards laying before him the Deformity of his Crime, and thus ſtrike him with a generous Fear, in as much as the ſhadow of Vice is moſt conſpicuous when oppos'd to the light of Vertue; care alſo ſhould be taken, that the reproof be not ſo harſh and publick, that the Subject loſing his Reputation, ſhall withal, loſe all hopes of retrieving it,

(7) *Atque ipſe, ut ſuper fortunam crederetur, decorum ſe, promptumque armis oſtentabat, comitate & alloquiis officia provocans, ac plerumque in opere, in agmine, in gregario militi mixtus, incorrupto ducis honore.* Tac. 5. hiſt. † Claud. (9) Heſther 15. 11. (10) Ibid. (11) Ibid. (12) Ibid. (13) Iſai. 3. 7. (14) Eccl. 4. 10.

and

and ſo obſtinately perſiſt in his fault. Let Anger therefore and Mildneſs, Puniſhment and Rewards be ſo intermixed, as in the Golden Fleece, the Steels and Flints are knit together, and between them Flames of Fire, to ſignifie that the Prince's Heart ſhould reſemble the Fire-ſtone or Flint, which keeps the ſparks of its Anger ſhut up, leaſt they ſhould hurt any one raſhly; yet in ſuch a manner, that if it happen to be ſtruck by Injury or Contempt, it immediately breaks out into fire of Revenge and Juſtice, yet thoſe not ſo quick in execution, but it has the Dew of the Fleece at hand to extinguiſh, at leaſt to moderate them. God ſaid to *Ezekiel, as Adamant and Flint have I made thy fore-head* (15), ſignifying by that the conſtancy of Juſtice, and by this the fire of Piety. But if the Prince cannot break his rough and ſavage Nature, let him at leaſt keep an obliging Family to ſupply his place, giving a courteous reception to all Buſineſs and Petitions. A Prince is often beloved or hated upon account of his Servants; they very much cloak their Maſter's roughneſs, if they have the skill to moderate it, or to excuſe it by their Affability and Diſcretion.

Some Nations hide the Royal Majeſty behind Veils and Curtains when he gives Audience, without expoſing him to the people. A Cuſtom inhumane to the Prince, ſevere and cruel to the Subjects, who uſually find comfort in their Prince's preſence, if not in his hands. This Retreat may make the Prince more fear'd, but never more beloved. 'Tis through the Eyes and Ears that Love ſtrikes the Heart. What we neither ſee nor hear, we can't love. A Prince who refuſes the ſight and ſpeech of his Subjects, refuſes to hear their Neceſſities and to remedy them; the Tongue is an eaſie inſtrument, that ought to reconcile the Minds of all: let not the Prince make it harſh and diſ-agreeable. King *John* the Firſt, becauſe he was ſhort, and had an impediment in his Speech, loſt the *Portugueſe* in his Pretenſion to that Crown, upon the death of King *Peter*.

'Tis not ſufficient for the Prince to diſpatch buſineſs by Memorials and Petitions, for by them the Sentiments are

(15) Ezek. 3. 9.

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not so well expres'd. They not being attended with Sighs and other moving Actions, they are but dry Tears, and have not that force upon the Prince.

The doors of Temples are always open, so also should be those of Palaces; for Princes are God's Vicegerents, and the Altars (as we have said) which the people fly to in their Afflictions and Calamities. 'Twould be a scandalous thing for a Soldier to find it more easie to charge through a Squadron of Pikes, than to come to the presence through the midst of *Swiss* and *Dutch* Guards, who, like armed Hedghogs, are neither gain'd by Prayers nor Civility. *Let people come to me*, says the Emperor *Rodolphus*, *for I am not Emperor to be shut up in a box.* This retirement makes the mind savage (16). Attention to Government, and Communication soften the temper and render it easie. Princes, like Hawks, are tam'd by the assiduity of Affairs, and by familiarity with Men. The Kingdom of *Leon* rebell'd against King *Ramirez* the Third, for his difficulty of Access. King *Ferdinand* the Holy was deny'd to none, and every one had admittance even to his most private Apartment: The Kings *Alphonso* the Twelfth, and *Henry* the Third, gave publick Audience three times a Week, as did also their Catholick Majesties, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* †. Nature has put doors to the Eyes and Tongue, but has left the Ears open, that they may be ready to hear at all times. Let not a Prince then stop 'em, but hearken favourably to those that would speak to him. Let him comfort either by Reward or Hope, for that is one kind of satisfaction which supports Merit. Let him not always use set Forms and general Answers; for those which are given to all satisfie none, nor is it a small trouble to the Petitioner to receive an answer that he knew before: Let him not always hear, let him ask sometimes (17), for he who does not enquire, will never be well inform'd. Let him throughly know the state of affairs, and let his Audiences be instructive, not merely ceremonial; as were those of *Ferdinand* the Holy, *Alphonso* King

(16) *Etiam fera animalia si clausa teneas, virtutis obliviscuntur.* Tac. 4. Hist. † Mar. hist. Hisp. (17) Eccl. 23. 12.

of *Arragon*, King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, by which they were beloved and reſpected by their Subjects, and eſteem'd by Strangers. As the Audience ſhould be eaſie, ſo it ought alſo to be ſpeedy; for the delay of a benefit diminiſhes the Obligation. Tho' there are ſome affairs of that Nature, that 'tis better to let time undeceive them, than either the Prince or his Miniſters. For all had rather be entertain'd with Hope, than be diſpatch'd with Deſpair, which in prudent Courts is found, not given.

I don't approve of the Prince's expoſing himſelf in the Streets and publick Places, for the People; 'tis true, admire him the firſt time, obſerve him the ſecond, and ſlight him the third (18). That which is not ſeen is reſpected moſt (19), and the Eyes often deſpiſe what the opinion eſteem'd. 'Tis not convenient the people ſhould know whether the chain of their Slavery be of Iron or of Gold, paſſing judgment upon the parts and qualifications of the Prince. We reſpect that moſt which is fartheſt diſtant (20). Some Nations take the Prince's Affability and Complaiſance for a Vice. Others diſlike his reſervedneſs, and would have him mild and courteous, as the *Portugueſe* and the *French*. The Extreams in one and t'other are always dangerous, and he will be beſt able to moderate them, who in his Actions and Government, remembers that he is both Prince and Man.

(18) *Continuus aſpectus minus verendos magnos homines ipſa ſocietate ſui.* Liv. (19) *Arcebantur conſpectu, quo venerationis plus ineſſet.* Tac. Hiſt. (20) *Cui major è longinquo reverentia.* Tac. 1. ann.

EMBLEM XL.

THE Scriptures call Princes Mountains, and the rest of Mankind, Hills and Valleys (1). This compariſon comprehends the great Affinity between them; for Mountains are Princes of the Earth, as being nearer Heaven, and ſuperiour to the other works of Nature, as alſo for their Liberality, by which from their own generous Bowels, they ſupply with continual Streams the droughty Plains and Vallies beneath, cloathing them with Flowers and Verdure, this being the true property of Princes. By this vertue more than any is a Prince ally'd to God, who is ever giving to all plentifully (2); 'tis this renders obedience more prompt, for a Preſent from him who could command, forces Obligation. Subjection is agreeable when 'tis beneficial.

(1) Ye Mountains of *Iſrael*, hear the word of the Lord God, thus ſaith the Lord God to the Mountains, and to the Hills, to the Rivers, and to the Valleys, *Ezek.* 6. 3. (2) James 1. 5.

King

King *Charles* of *Navarre*, call'd the Noble, gain'd the Love of all by his Liberality. King *Henry* the Second did thereby wipe out the Murder of his Brother King *Peter*, and eſtabliſhed his Right to the Crown. What cannot a liberal Prince do? What can't a golden Scepter oblige to? Even Tyranny (3) is conniv'd at and born with, when the Prince knows how to give, eſpecially when it gains the Applauſe of the people, by ſupplying the publick Neceſſities, and rewarding perſons of Merit. This vertue, in my opinion, maintain'd *Tiberius* in the Empire, for this he always practis'd (4). But there is nothing more pernicious to a Prince, than Liberality and Goodneſs (for they uſually go together) if not uſed with Moderation. *Liberality*, ſays King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, *becomes all men of power, but principally a King, when he uſes it to purpoſe, and as he ſhould.* *Garcias Sancho*, King of *Navarr*, loſt his Subjects affections, by the ſame Liberality with which he hop'd to have gain'd them; for to maintain it, he oppreſt them with Taxes and Impoſitions. Prodigality is little diſtant from Rapine or Tyranny; for when the Treaſury is drain'd by Ambition, it muſt of neceſſity be recruited by ill and indirect means (5). *He who gives more than he is able*, ſays *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, *is not liberal but prodigal; and when his own ſtock fails, he will be obliged to make uſe of others; ſo that if on one ſide he makes Friends by what he gives, he on th'other ſide makes Enemies by what he takes away.* *Diego d'Arias*, Treaſurer to King *Henry* the Fourth, leaſt he ſhould fall into this inconvenience, repreſented to him the Extravagance of his Liberality, and that 'twas convenient, that his Retinue ſhould be reduc'd to a leſſer number, and that the Salaries allow'd to ſuch as did not actually ſerve, or were any ways incapacitated, might be taken off: to whom the King made this Anſwer, *I too, were I* Arias, *ſhould more reſpect my Money than my Liberality; you ſay well as to your ſelf, but as for me, I'll act as becomes a King, without fear of poverty, or expoſing*

(3) Prov. 19. 6. (4) *Quam virtutem diu retinuit, cum cæteras exueret.* Tac. 1. ann. (5) *Ac velut perfringere ærarium: quod ſi amiſſum exhauſerimus, per ſcelera ſupplendum erit.* Tac. 2. ann.

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my ſelf to the neceſſity of raiſing new Taxes. 'Tis the duty of a King to give, and to meaſure his Authority by the publick Good, not his own particular, which is the true fruit of Riches. To ſome we give becauſe they are good, to others, that they may not be bad. Words truly worthy a King, if he had been guided by theſe conſiderations, but his gifts were always exceſſive and without order, without the leaſt regard to the Merit of the Party, as his Brother-in-law King *Ferdinand* obſerved in one of his Laws, ſaying, *That he gave Rewards for Shew not for Merit.* Whence we may obſerve the circumſpection a Prince ought to obſerve in his Liberality, for fear of giving occaſion to his Subjects to acknowledge his Authority, only to receive from him, not to obey him. An extravagant Subject ruins only himſelf. But a Prince, himſelf and State too. The Treaſury would be ſoon at an ebb, if the Prince ſhould be extravagantly liberal, without conſidering, that they are the Magazines for publick Neceſſities. The Mountains don't ſquander away the Snow which the Vapours of the Fields and Valleys heap upon its top, but on the contrary, preſerve it againſt Summer, and then in gentle Streams returns it upon the ſame grounds it was attracted from. They don't deſcend all at once, for ſo they would not anſwer their deſign, and would be ſlighted as uſeleſs, for Liberality is the greateſt Enemy to Liberality; nor do they immediately mix with the Rivers leaving the Plains and Vallies dry, as Princes uſually do, who give to the Rich what ought to be diſtributed among the Poor, and drain the thirſty ſands to ſupply the brimfull Lakes, which have no need of it. 'Tis a great fault to gain the favour of the Rich at the expence of the poor; and by vain extravagance to oppreſs the body of the State, whoſe ruin is always promoted by the pride and vanity of a few. The people cannot brook to ſee that power vainly ſquander'd away, which ought to be employ'd to the preſervation of them, and the Prince's dignity. The rewards of a Prodigal are not eſteem'd, becauſe they are common, and proceed from the vice of Extravagance, not the vertue of Liberality, and by giving all to a few he offends many; that which is given to ſome particular ones, being wanted in general by all. He who

gives without care or choice, enriches indeed, but rewards not: to give to those who deserve, 'tis necessary to be sparing to others. So that a Prince ought to use great Prudence and Judgment in the Distribution of Rewards (6). For when they are well distributed, though they fall on but few, they affect many. The Scriptures command all Offerings to be made with Salt, which is the same as Prudence (7), equally distant from Prodigality and Avarice. But because a Prince ought to be generous to all, let him imitate *Aurora*, which, as it passes, always leaves something, tho' but Dew and Flowers. Nay often satisfies only with its Beauty and Pleasantness. Let him give to all, but with such Moderation, that without putting it out of his power to give more, he may content them. Some by Presents, some by Words, and some by Affability (8); for oftentimes the Eyes give more than the Hands. Liberality is the only Vertue, which should be sometimes in the opinion of others, more than in the person of the Prince; Experience teaching us, that 'tis sufficient that he express some Demonstrations, with such Address, that he may be generally esteem'd liberal; so that he must avoid Refusals, for 'tis a great trouble to receive them from a Prince. What he cannot give to day, he may give to morrow; and if he cannot, 'tis better to let time discover it than to tell it himself. He who refuses, either does not distinguish Merit, or shews his want of Power or Will, and neither of these Declarations become a Prince, whose Power and Grandure the Petitioner acknowledges.

Let a Prince be generous in the Reward of Vertue, but let it be with Offices and Imployments, and other Revenues already allotted to Liberality, not with the Crown-Rents, and Treasury reserv'd for greater uses. King *Ferdinand* the Catholick was very liberal, but not to the Prejudice of the Crown. He was (at his first coming to the Crown) slow in the Distribution of Offices, the better to gain mens minds, and to reward those who had followed his Party. He knew with great Prudence to mingle Liberality with Frugality.

(6) Psal. 98. 4. (7) Levit. 2. 14. Eccl. 35. 11. (8) Eccl. 35. 11.

Of which he has not only left us an Example but alſo a Law, in theſe words: *Kings ought not to be ſo generous and bountifull, as that it may be term'd Extravagance; for this vertue of Liberality ought to be uſed with order and meaſure, without Detriment to the Crown and Royal Dignity* †. To lay up the better to employ, is not Avarice, but premeditated Liberality. To give inconſiderately, is either Vanity or Folly. By this Parſimony King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe rais'd the Monarchy, and loſt the Crown by his profuſe Extravagance; one of the principal Complaints the Kingdom made againſt him, was, That he had given the Empreſs *Martha* thirty thouſand Marks of Silver, to redeem her Husband *Baldwin*, whom the Sultan of *Ægypt* retain'd Priſoner; in which he was more vain than prudent. King *Henry* the Second found the damage of having weakned the power of his Crown by his too great Bounty, and therefore revok'd it by his laſt Will. Time and Opportunity ought to guide Princes in their Liberality; ſometimes it ought to be moderated, when the Expences of War, and the publick Neceſſities are great, and to be apply'd to avert Dangers, and to facilitate Deſigns; in which he ſaves moſt, who ſpends moſt: for he who gives by little and little, ſpends his Money, without attaining his end. War is avoided, and Victory and Peace purchaſed by Liberality (9).

The Prodigality of a Prince may be corrected by committing the management of his Treaſures to thrifty frugal Miniſters, as may his Avarice by generous ones. 'Tis neceſſary ſometimes to let a Prince ſee the ſumm of his Liberality; for Grants are made ſometimes without conſideration; and if the Prince kept an account of his Expences he would doubtleſs moderate them; and 'tis not always Liberality to grant Gratuities, for Avarice is often vanquiſh'd by Importunity, or ſometimes weary with contending, grants them through Deſpair.

'Tis natural to all Princes to give to thoſe who have moſt; I know not whether through Fear or Eſteem of Power. This that great Courtier *Joſeph* well underſtood, when ca-

† L. 3. tit. 19. lib. 5. Recop. (9) Prov. 22. 9.

ling his Father and Brothers into *Ægypt*, and offering them in *Pharaoh*'s name all the Good of that Kingdom (10), he bid them bring with them all the Riches and Goods that they had (11); knowing, that if they came rich, the King would be more liberal to them; so that he who expects Bounty from a Prince, must not represent to him his Poverty and Misery. There are no more ready means to have, than to have (12).

(10) Gen. 45. 18. (11) Ibid. ver. 20. (12) Luke 19. 26.

EMBLEM XLI.

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THE Motto of this Emblem has been famous to all Antiquity. Some attribute it to *Bias*, to *Pythagoras*, *Thales* and *Homer*; but I think 'tis more reasonably ascrib'd to the *Delphick* Oracles, for it seems rather a Divine than Humane Sentence, fit to be engraven on all the Crowns, Sceptres, and Rings of Princes. To this

is reduc'd the whole Science of Government, which conſiſts in avoiding Extreams, and loves the middle, where Vertue keeps its Sphere. 'Twas ask'd *Socrates*, Which was the propereſt Vertue for a young Man, and he anſwer'd, *Nothing to Exceſs*, by which he comprehended all. To this Motto the body of the preſent Emblem ſeems well ſuited; Corn lay'd by the violence of unſeaſonable Rain, when gentle Dews were ſufficient (1). Honours by being too great ſuit ill with Subjects, and rather diſgrace than adorn them. There are ſome favours ſo out of ſeaſon, that they paſs for Injuries; What avails it for the Prince to do a benefit, if by his auſtere Looks and rugged Words, he ſeems, as 'twere, to throw it at one, or does it ſo unſeaſonably, that it does no kindneſs. The Benefit and Favour is loſt, and the hand abhorr'd that gave it. Which made King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe ſay, *That Rewards ſhould be given ſo* à propos, *that they may be beneficial to the Receiver* †.

As there are errors in Exceſs of Rewards and Favours, ſo there is alſo in Puniſhments. Such an exact Rigour better becomes a Miniſter of Juſtice than a Prince; he is not at his Liberty, but the Prince has the Keys of the Law in his own hand. 'Tis not Juſtice which is too ſevere, nor Mercy which is not moderate, and ſo of other Vertues.

The ſame Moderation a Prince out to obſerve in the arts of Peace and War, ſo guiding the Chariot of the Government, as they did in the Games of old, that the Wheels may not touch the Goals, for ſo they would be broken; the art of the ancient Racers conſiſted, in meaſuring the diſtance ſo exactly, as to paſs as near as poſſible, without touching either end.

What a Prince ought to take moſt care of, is the Moderation of his Paſſions, governing them with ſuch Prudence, that he may neither deſire, hope, love or fear with too much Ardour and Violence, rais'd by the Will not by

(1) *Magni animi eſt magna contemnere, prudentis eſt mediocria malle, quam nimia; iſta enim utilia ſunt; illa quid ſuperfluant nocent. Sic ſegetem nimia ſterilit ubertas, ſic Rami onere franguntur, ſic ad maturitatem non pervenit nimia feracitas*, Sen. Epiſt. 39. † L. 1. tit. 21. p. 3.

Reaſon.

Reaſon. The deſires of private perſons may be eaſily accompliſh'd, but thoſe of Princes not, for thoſe are proportion'd to their conditions, and theſe are uſually greater than the force of their Grandure, tending always to Extreams. Almoſt all Princes either ruin themſelves, or run into great inconveniences, through Exceſs of Ambition, mans deſire being unlimited, and the poſſibility of things very narrow, it rarely happens that the firſt are meaſured by the latter, or that there is any Juſtice between them. Hence Princes ſeek pretences to rob their Neighbours, nay their greateſt Friends, aſpiring ever at the enlargement of their State, without meaſuring their bodies with their Strength, and their Government with Humane Capacity, which cannot maintain all that may be acquired. The Grandure of Empires lies upon their own Shoulders, and are always ready to fall;oppreſs'd with their own weight. Let Princes therefore endeavour to maintain their States, which either Succeſſion or Election has given them; and if any juſt occaſion ſhall offer of enlarging them, let them make uſe of it a God's name, but with ſuch caution, as the Event ſhall ſhew to Prudence.

Ambition is not leſs dangerous in the Exceſs of its Fears than of its Deſires, eſpecially in that which is acquired by Violence. Fear ſuggeſts no means which are not immediately made uſe of for its preſervation. There is none of the line of the party wrong'd, or any one who has the leaſt pretenſion to the State, though never ſo remote, but is fear'd. Tyranny uſually propoſes nothing leſs than a general ruin. Thus *Mucianus* practis'd, killing the Son of *Vitellius* (2). The ſame alſo is taught in the School of *Machiavell*, whoſe Scholars forgetting the Example of *David*, who ſought out *Saul*'s Relations, that they might partake of his Mercy (3), follow that of ſome Tyrants, as if all were not ruin'd by theſe pernicious practices; and if any one has been preſerv'd (as we ſhall obſerve) 'twas by changing them for the better. Moſt Kingdoms are augmented by Uſurpation, and after-

(2) *Manſuram diſcordiam obtendens, ni ſemina belli reſtrinxiſſet.* Tac. 4 ann. (3) 2 Sam. 9. 3.

wards maintain'd by Juſtice, and legitimated by time. Extreme violence is extreme danger. *Cyrus* invaded *Lydia*, and diſpoſeſs'd King *Cræſus*. But had he had any of our Politicians, they would have adviſ'd him, for his greater Security, to have taken him off. Yet *Cyrus* reſtor'd him one City, by which he might ſupport his Royal Dignity; and 'tis certain, he had provok'd the Hatred and Arms of all *Greece*, if he had ſhew'd himſelf cruel (4). Tyranny is equally hateſull to God and Man; nor are there wanting in ſuch caſes, ſome mild means, by which the mind may be diverted, from ſhedding Blood, from breaking the Line of Succeſſion, from diminiſhing, or transferring the greatneſs of States, and taking off thoſe who may aſpire to the Crown; which had they been obſerved in *Portugal*, that people had never revolted.

When the danger is ſo evident, that it obliges to Defence and natural Preſervation, the Prince ought to ſtrike at the Root, that it may not ſprout again, keeping a watchfull Eye upon it, leaſt it ſhould happen, as it did to the *Philiſtin* Princes, who having cut off *Sampſon*'s hair, wherein lay all his Strength, began to ridicule him, not conſidering that it might grow again, as it afterwards did (5), when he pull'd the Temple upon their Heads (6), killing more Enemies dying than he had done living (7).

Inordinate Ambition moreover perſwades the Oppreſſion of the liberty of the people, the humbling of the Nobility, the weakning of the potent and rich, and the reduction of all to the Royal Prerogative, thinking that the more abſolute, the more firm it is; and that the lower the people are reduc'd, the higher its Glory riſes; an error by which Flattery gains the Hearts of Princes, and leads them into great dangers. 'Tis Modeſty that preſerves Empires, ſo correcting the Prince's Ambition, that it may maintain it within the bounds of Reaſon, the power of his Dignity, the honour of the Nobility, and the liberty of the people, for no Monarchy is laſting which is not mixt, that is com-

(4) *Hæc clementia non minus utilis victori quam victis fuit.* Tac. 1. hiſt. (5) Judg. 16. 21. (6) Ibid. (7) Ibid.

poſ'd

pos'd of Ariſtocracy and Democracy (8). Abſolute Power is Tyranny. Whoever promotes that promotes his own ruin. A Prince ought not to govern as the Lord, but as the Father, the Protector and Governour of his States (9).

Theſe diſorders of Ambition proceed from a long uſe and abuſe of Dominion, which covets all for it ſelf; in which 'tis neceſſary Princes ſhould conquer themſelves, and ſubmit to reaſon, however difficult the attempt appear; for many can conquer others, few themſelves. This Victory is of Force, that of Reaſon. 'Tis not Valour to conquer in Battle, but to ſubdue the Paſſions. Obedience and Neceſſity make Subjects humble and modeſt; Superiority and Power render Princes proud; Pride has deſtroy'd more Kingdoms than the Sword; more Princes have ruin'd themſelves than have been undone by others. The remedy conſiſts in the Prince's knowledge of himſelf, by retiring within himſelf, and conſidering, that though the Scepter diſtinguiſhes him from his Subjects, they much exceed him in endowments of Mind, more noble than his Grandure. That if Reaſon might take place, the moſt accompliſh'd man would be King. That the hand with which he governs the World, is of Clay, and Subject to the Leproſie, and all other human Miſeries, as God gave *Moſes* to underſtand (10), that knowing his own Miſeries, he might pity thoſe of others (11). That a Crown is a very unſafe Poſſeſſion, for between the utmoſt height, and the loweſt fall, there is no Interpoſition (12). That he depends upon the Will of others, ſince if they would not obey, he would be but like other men. The greater the Prince ſhall be, the more he ought to eſteem this Modeſty, ſince God himſelf does not

(8) *Quæ ex pluribus conſtat reſp melior eſt* Ariſt. 2 Pol. c. 4. (9) *Huc enim ſunt omnia reducenda, ut iis qui ſub imperio ſunt, non Tyrannum, ſed patrem-familias, aut regem agere videatur*, &c. Ariſt. Pol. 5. c. 11. (10) Exod. 4. 6. (11) Hebr. 5. 2. (12) *Quod regnum eſt, cui parata non ſit ruina, & proculcatio, & dominus, & carnifex? Nec iſta intervallis diviſa, ſed hora momentum intereſt inter ſolium, & ultima genua.* Senec.

diſdain it (13). Modeſty which hides Greatneſs under it, is like rich Enamel upon Gold, which gives it the greater Value and Eſteem. *Tiberius* had no Artifice more cunning, than to appear modeſt to gain Eſteem. He ſeverely reprehended thoſe who call'd his Occupations Divine, and him Lord (14). When he went into the Courts of Juſtice, he would not ſuffer the Preſident to quit his ſeat, but ſat down upon one corner of the Bench (15). He who is gotten to the higheſt ſtep among men, cannot riſe but by ſtooping. Let all Princes learn Modeſty of the Emperor *Ferdinand* the Second, who was ſo familiar and affable to all, that he made himſelf lov'd rather than reverenc'd. In him Goodneſs and Modeſty were conſpicuous, and Majeſty found but by Attention: He was not the Imperial Eagle with a ſharp Beak, and bare Talons, threatning all, but the tender Pelican, continually digging his own Intrails to feed his people as his own young. It coſt him no pains to humble his Grandure, and make himſelf equal to others. He was not the Maſter but Father of the World, and the exceſs of Modeſty often cauſes Contempt, to the ruin of Princes, to him it created more Reſpect, and oblig'd all Nations to his Service and Defence. See the force of true Goodneſs, and of a great Soul, which triumphs over it ſelf, and is ſuperiour to Fortune! He has left us in the preſent Emperour his Son, the lively Portraicture of all theſe qualities, with which he ſteals the Hearts both of Friends and Enemies. There is no vertue more agreeable to a Prince than Modeſty, all others would be fooliſh in him, if that did not adjuſt his Looks and Actions, not permitting them to exceed themſelves.

In Government 'tis very convenient not to touch upon Extremes, for too great Condeſcenſion is not leſs prejudicial than a haughty Grandure. Monaſtick Communities may perhaps ſuffer the Rigour of Obedience, but not popular ones. Such rigid Diſcipline may keep a few in awe, but

(13) *Modeſtiæ fama, quæ neque ſummis mortalium ſpernenda eſt, & à diis æſtimatur.* Tac. 15. ann. (14) *Acerbéque increpuit eos qui divinas occupationes, ipſumque Dominum dixerunt.* Tac. 2. ann. (15) *Aſſidebat in cornu Tribunalis.* Tac. 1. ann.

not

not many. Civil Happineſs conſiſts in vertue, which conſiſts in the middle, as does civil Life and the Government of States, for the nature of Empire is ſuch, that the people may take it away, without being ruin'd by too much Licence, or render'd obſtinate by too much Rigour. In Government we ought not to conſider what ſhould be, but what may be (16). Even God adapts himſelf to human Frailty.

Between theſe Extremes alſo the body of the Commonwealth ſhould be conſtituted, care being taken that there mayn't be too great difference in the conditions of the Citizens; for exceſs or inequality of Riches or Nobility, if it be much, creates in ſome Pride, and in others Envy, and from thence proceed Enmity and Seditions (17). For there can be no Friendſhip or civil Agreement among them who are ſo unequal in their Conditions and Fortunes, for all hate equality, and covet more, either to govern as Lords, or obey as Slaves (18). Some too haughty contemn the Laws, and deſpiſe Obedience; Others too ſervile, know not how to bear it, and have neither Fear of Infamy nor Puniſhment, hence there would become a Community of Lords and Slaves, but without reſpect between themſelves, ſince neither would know how to meaſure themſelves by their own condition. Thoſe of the loweſt quality pretend to be as thoſe of higher. Thoſe who are equal or ſuperiour in one thing, think they are in all. Thoſe who have the advantage in all, can't contain themſelves, and deſpiſing every one would proudly lord it over them, without Obedience to him who commands, or adapting themſelves to the Conſtitutions and Cuſtoms of the State, whence proceeds its ruin and converſion into other Forms (19), for all ſigh and are

(16) *Non enim ſolum reſpublica, quæ optima ſit, conſiderari debet, ſed etiam quæ conſtitui poſſit, præterea qua facilior & cunctis civitatibus communior habeatur.* Ariſt. lib. 4 Pol. 6. c. 2. (17) *Præterea ſeditiones non modo propter fortunarum, ſed etiam propter honorum inæqualitatem exiſtunt.* Ariſt. lib. 2. c. 5. (18) *Sed jam hæc conſuetudo in civitatibus invaluit, ut homines, æqualitatem odio habeant, & malint, aut imperio peti, aut ſi victi fuerint, imperio ſubeſſe.* Ariſt. lib 4. Pol. c. 11. (19) *Nam qui virtute præſtant, iniquo animo ſibi indigniores æquari paterentur: quamobrem ſæpè conſpirare, & ſeditiones commovere uſi antur.* Ariſt. Pol. 2. c. 5.

uneaſie

uneaſie under it. And though it be impoſſible intirely to remedy this contention in States, becauſe of the difference of condition of the parts of which they conſiſt, yet are they preſerv'd if it be moderate, and ruin'd if exceſſive. As it happens in the four Humours of the Body, though the Blood be the moſt noble, and the Choler the moſt potent, yet do they mutually preſerve one another, while there is no great Inequality between them; ſo that State will continue long, which conſiſts of moderate parts, and not much unequal between themſelves. 'Twas the extravagant Riches of ſome of the Citizens which caus'd the ruin of the State of *Florence*, and is at preſent the cauſe of the troubles of *Genoua*. Becauſe in *Venice* they are better divided, it has continued ſo many Ages, and if there happen any danger or inconvenience in the Government, 'tis through the too great poverty of ſome of its Magiſtrates. If any Republick has been preſerv'd for all theſe diſorders and exceſs of its parts, 'tis through the Prudence and Induſtry of the Governour, who keeps it in its Devoir, by the fear of the Laws, and other diſcreet means, ſuch as not to wrong any one, nor violate the Privileges and Conveniencies of the Poor, to employ the great ones in the Adminiſtration, and in Offices; in fine not to oppreſs, but rather to encourage the hope of thoſe who are of an high and enterpriſing Spirit. But this will continue no longer than it has prudent Governours; and becauſe States can't be ſufficiently provided for by theſe temporal Remedies, which depend upon chance, 'tis neceſſary in their firſt Inſtitution, to provide means to correct theſe Exceſſes, before they happen.

E M.

EMBLEM XLII.

I Am indebted, for the body of this Emblem, to the Civility of the preſent Pope *Urban* the VIIIth. his Holineſs having been pleas'd to ſhew me upon a precious Stone, engraven in the time of the *Romans*, two Bees drawing a Plough, which was found in his time; a Preſage of the riſe of his noble and ancient Family, his Arms being joyn'd to the triumphant Yoak of the Church. Which upon Reflection put me in mind of a Prodigy of King *Wamba*, when being anointed by the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, there was ſeen to ſpring from his head a Bee, which flew ſtreight towards Heaven, prognoſticating the ſweetneſs of his Government: from whence I infer, that the Ancients would ſhew by this Emblem, how neceſſary 'twas to mingle, Profit with Pleaſure, the art of making Honey, with that of *Agricultura*. For a Motto to which, I thought the beginning of that Verſe of *Horace* would not be amiſs.

Omne

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci. Hor.

Who mixes gain with Sport gains ev'ry point.

In this consists the main art of Government; this was the first piece of Policy in the world; this the ancient Philosophy taught us, feigning that *Orpheus* made Beasts follow him, and that the very Stones danc'd to *Amphion's* Harp, with which he built the Walls of the City of *Thebes*, to signifie that the mild instruction of those great persons were sufficient to reduce men, not less savage than Brutes, and more insensible than Stones, to the Harmony of the Laws, and civil Society †.

These Arts all States have used to instruct the people, mingling Instruction with Sport and publick Games. All *Greece* flock'd to Mount *Olympus*, to be present at the *Olympian*, *Pythian*, *Nemæan* and *Isthmian* Games; some out of curiosity to see them, others to obtain the propos'd Rewards, and upon this occasion they exercis'd their Strength, sacrific'd to the Gods, and treated of the most important affairs of the Government of those Provinces. Comedies and Tragedies were also invented to purge the Affections. The Gladiators of the *Romans*, and the Bull-fights of the *Spaniards*, (who also are diverted with terrible and desperate Enterprizes) were to confirm the Mind that it might not be daunted at the sight neither of Blood nor Death. Wrestling, Tilting, Horse-races *, and other such Sports, are so many Schools in which Arts military are learn'd, and the Mind at the same time recreated and diverted. The people must be drawn by Flattery and Mildness, to the Conveniencies and Designs of the Prince; they are like a Horse which being gently stroak'd into Temper takes the Bitt, and afterwards submits to Burthens and the Lash. They can't

† *Silvestres homines sacer interpresque Deorum,*
Cædibus & victu fœdo deterruit Orpheus,
Dictus ab hoc lenire Tigres, &c.

* Juego de las Cannas.

bear

bear too much Rigour, or too much Gentleneſs. Exceſs of Liberty is as dangerous to them as Exceſs of Slavery (1). Princes who have wanted this conſideration have felt the rage of the incenſed Multitude. Inveterate diſtempers are not always to be cured by the Knife and Fire. They require ſoothing Medicines, and when there is need of bitter Pills, they ſhould be well gilt, to deceive the Sight and Taſt. 'Tis not neceſſary that the people ſhould know the Ingredients of the Prince's Reſolutions and Counſels, 'tis ſufficient that they ſwallow them upon any Pretext.

The Dangers and Hardſhips of War are ſweeten'd by the mildneſs of the Prince. Thus *Germanicus* to keep the *German* Legions in obedience, and more ready for Battle, us'd to viſit the wounded Soldiers, and taking notice of their Wounds, commend their Actions, gaining ſome by hope, others by good words, and ſo made them eager to fight (2).

This goodneſs alone is not effectual, there is need alſo of ſome eminent Vertue in the Commander, that if he be beloved for that he may be reſpected for this. Many times a Prince is beloved for his extraordinary goodneſs, and deſpiſed for his Inſufficiency. Reſpect proceeds not from Love, but Admiration. He obliges all, who having courage to make himſelf fear'd, makes himſelf beloved; who knowing how to execute Juſtice, knows alſo to be merciful. Goodneſs is often interpreted Softneſs and Ignorance, in him who has no other Vertues to recommend him. Theſe are of ſuch force in a Prince, that they ſoften his Severity and Rigour, being recompenç'd by them. Even great Vices are excus'd, or at leaſt conniv'd at in him who is Maſter alſo of great Vertues.

In Negotiations 'tis very convenient to mingle Sweetneſs with Gravity, and Jeſts with Truth, provided it be *à propos*, without Offence to good Manners, nor the Gravity of the Subject, in which the Emperor *Tiberius* was well skill'd (3).

(1) *Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam ſervitutem pati poſſunt, nec totam libertatem.* Tac. 1. hiſt. (2) *Circumire ſaucios, facta ſingulorum extollere, vulnera intueri, alium ſpe, alium gloria, cunctos alloquio & cura, ſibique & prælio firmabat.* Tac. 1. ann. (3) *Tiberius tamen ludibria ſerbis permiſcere ſolitus.* Tac. 6. ann.

There's

There's none can endure a melancholy roughness, a look always set to business, a grave Speech and a formal Behaviour. 'Tis Prudence sometimes to mix a little folly in Counsels (4), when 'tis well apply'd 'tis Wisdom (5). A happy thought and a word in season gains peoples Minds, and most difficult Affairs to the end proposed, and sometimes discovers the Intention, deceives Malice, diverts Offence, and prevents a positive Answer where 'tis not convenient.

We ought also in Negotiations to mingle the advantage of those whom we would perswade, shewing them that 'tis their interest as well as ours; for all are mov'd by self-interest, few by Obligation and Glory. *Sejanus*, to incite *Drusus* to the Murther of his Brother *Nero*, set before him the hopes of the Empire. The skill of a prudent Minister consists in facilitating affairs with others interests, disposing the Treaty so, that theirs and his own Prince's may seem to be the same. To desire to negotiate affairs by self-interest only, is to bring water in broken pipes; where one receives it from another, all receive Assistance and Advantage.

(4) *Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem.* (5) Eccl. 10. 1.

E M

EMBLEM XLIII.

43

ALL things as well animate as inanimate are Leaves of this great Book of the World, the Work of Nature, wherein divine Wiſdom has written all Sciences, to teach and inſtruct us how to act. There is no moral Vertue, which is not found in Animals. Practick Prudence is born in them; in us 'tis not acquired but by Inſtruction and Experience. We may learn from them without Confuſion and Shame of our Ignorance, for he who informs them, the ſame is Author of all things. But to put on their Nature, or deſire to imitate them in acting like them irrationally, hurried by the Appetite of our Affections and Paſſions, would be giving an affront to Reaſon, the proper Gift of Man, by which he is diſtinguiſhed from other Animals, and merits the command over them. They for want of Reaſon are without Juſtice, each aiming at nothing but its own Preſervation, without reſpecting Injuries done to others.

thers. Man juſtifies his Actions, and meaſures them by Equity, doing nothing to others, which he would not have done unto himſelf. Whence may be inferr'd how impious and inhuman is the deſign of *Machiavel*, who forms his Prince upon another Suppoſition, of the Nature of the Lion and the Fox, that what he can't attain by reaſon he may by force and fraud, in which he was inſtructed by *Lyſander* General of the *Lacedæmonians*, who adviſ'd a Prince, that where the Lion's skin fail'd, he ſhould put on that of the Fox, making uſe of his Tricks and Artifices. This Doctrine is of long ſtanding. *Polybius* reprehends it in his own and the foregoing Ages (1). In this King *Saul* may be a Leſſon to all (2). This Maxim has encreas'd in time, there being no Injuſtice nor Indecency, but appears honourable to Policy, provided it be in order to Dominion (3), thinking that Prince lives precariouſly, who is tied up to Law and Juſtice (4). Whence they regard not Breach of Treaties, Faith, or Religion it ſelf, when for the Preſervation or Augmentation of Empire. Upon theſe falſe foundations Duke *Valentine* endeavour'd to raiſe his Fortune, but before he had finiſh'd it, it fell with that violence upon him, that the very Fragments and Ruins of it were loſt. How can that laſt which is founded upon Deceit and Lyes? How can that ſubſiſt which is violent? What force can there be in Contracts, if the Prince, who ſhould be their ſecurity, is himſelf the firſt that breaks them? Who will put any confidence in him? How can his Empire ſtand, who truſts more to his own Artifices than to divine Providence. Nor for all this, would I have a Prince ſo mild, as never to uſe force, nor ſo candid and ſincere, as not to know how to diſſemble, nor provide againſt Deceit, for ſo he would live expoſed to Malice, and be play'd upon by all. My deſign in this Em-

(1) *Quo Leonis pellis attingere non poteſt, principi aſſumendam Vulpinam.* Plut. (2) *Fuit, cui in tractandis negotiis dolus malus placeret, quem Regi convenire ſane nemo dixerit, etſi non deſunt, qui id tam crebro uſu hodie doli mali, neceſſarium eum eſſe dicant ad publicam rerum adminiſtrationem.* Polyb. 13. hiſt. (3) *Nihil glorioſum niſi tutum, & omnia retinendæ dominationis honeſta.* Sal. (4) *Ubicunque tantam honeſta dominanti licet, præcaria regnatur.* Sen. in Trag Thyeſt.

blem

blem is, that he ſhould be indued with Valour, but not with that brutiſh and irrational Courage of Beaſts, but that which is attended by Juſtice, ſignified by the Lyon's Skin, the Emblem of Valour, and therefore dedicated to *Hercules*. Sometimes 'tis neceſſary for a Prince to cover his Face with a Frown, and to oppoſe Fraud. He ſhould not always appear mild. There are occaſions when he muſt put on the Lion's Skin, that his Subjects and Enemies may ſee his Claws; and that he may be thought ſo ſevere, that Fraud may not have the boldneſs to attack him with Flattery, which way it uſes to tame the minds of Princes. This, it ſeems the *Ægyptians* would intimate, by putting a Lion's Skin upon their Prince's head. There is no Reſpect nor Reverence, where there is no fear. The People perceiving their Prince can't be angry, and that nothing can alter his mild Temper, always deſpiſe him; but this Severity need not immediately come to Execution. 'Tis not neceſſary for a Prince to be really angry, but only to appear ſo. The Lion without diſcompoſing himſelf, or thinking of hurting any other Animals, with his very Looks infuſes dread into all; ſuch is the Majeſtick force of his Eyes(5). But becauſe 'tis convenient ſometimes to gild force with craft, and indignation with mildneſs, to diſſemble a little, and accommodate himſelf to the times and perſons; therefore in the preſent Deviſe, the Lion's head is not crown'd with the little tricks of the Fox, which are mean and baſe, and below the Generoſity and Magnanimity of a Prince, but with Serpents, the Emblem of careſull and prudent Majeſty, and in the ſacred Writs the Hieroglyſick of Prudence, for their cunning in defending their heads, in ſtopping their Ears againſt all Inchantments, and in other things only tending to their own preſervation, not the prejudice of others. For the ſame reaſon, and the like accidents, I have made uſe of theſe words as a Motto to the preſent Deviſe, *that he may know how to reign*, taken from the Motto of *Lewis* the Eleventh King of *France*, *who knows not how to diſſemble, knows*

(5) A Lion which is the ſtrongeſt among Beaſts, and turneth not away for any. *Prov.* 30 30.

not how to reign. In which the whole art of Government is briefly comprehended; but there is need of great Prudence and Circumspection, least this Power should turn to Tyranny, and this Policy to Fraud: These Mediums nearly bordering upon Vices. *Justus Lipsius* defining Fraud in matters of Policy, says, *'tis shrewd Counsel, deviating from Vertue and the Laws, for the good of the King and Kingdom*; by which avoiding the Extremes of *Machiavel*, and finding also, that 'tis impossible for a Prince to govern without some Fraud and cunning, he advises a little, tolerates Mediocrity, but forbids Extremes; bounds very dangerous to a Prince. For who can exactly describe them? there ought not to be such Rocks so near politick Navigation. The malice of Power, and ambition of Rule, act sufficiently in many; if Fraud be vicious, 'tis vicious in its least parts, and therefore unworthy of a Prince. The worth and dignity of the Royal Purple, disdains the least spot. The minutest Atom is visible, and blemishes the Rays of these terrestrial Suns. And how can it be suffer'd that his actions should deviate from Vertue and the Laws, who is the very Soul thereof? There is no Fraud without a mixture of malice and falshood, both opposite to Royal Magnanimity; though *Plato* says, *That Falshood is superfluous in the Gods, they having no need on't, but not in Princes who have great occasion for it, and that therefore it may be allow'd them sometimes.* That which is unlawfull ought not to be allow'd, nor ought we to make use of means in their own nature wicked, to obtain just and honourable ends. Dissimulation and Cunning are then only lawfull, when they don't drive to Knavery, and prejudice the Authority and Reputation of the Prince; in which case I don't esteem them as Vices but Prudence, or the Daughters thereof, being both advantageous and necessary to a Commander: which would be, if Prudence respecting its own preservation, would make use of Fraud according to the different circumstances of time, place, and persons, so as the Heart and Tongue, the Mind and Words may ever agree. That Dissimulation ought to be avoided, which with fraudulent intentions belyes the things designed. That which would make another understand that

which

which is not, not that which would make him not understand that which is. For this end one may sometimes use indifferent and equivocating words, not with a design to cheat, but to secure ones self, and prevent being cheated, and for other lawfull ends. Thus we see the Master of truth himself pretended to his Disciples, who were going to the City *Emmaus*, that he was going farther (6). The counterfeit folly of *David* before King *Achis* (7); the pretended Sacrifice of *Samuel* (8); the Kids skins fitted to *Jacob*'s hands (9), were all lawfull Dissimulations, the intent not being to cheat, but only to hide another design, nor are they the less allowable, because one foresees that another will thereby be deceiv'd, for that knowledge proceeds not from malice, but a kind of caution.

And these arts and practices are then chiefly to be made use of, when we treat with designing and crafty Princes; for in such case, Distrust, Cunning, Hypocrisie, ambiguous Replies, prudent Equivocation, least a Prince should be insnared, and give occasion for others Plots and Machinations, defending himself with these arts, and not offending or violating his publick Faith, what is this but being upon his Guard? That Ingenuity is foolish, which frankly discovers its secret Sentiments; and the State would be in danger without some caution. 'Tis a dangerous sincerity to speak truth always, since secrecy is the chief instrument of Government. Whatever Prince intrusts a secret to another, at the same time intrusts his Sceptre too: It does not become a Prince to lye, but it does to be silent, or to conceal truth; not to trust or confide in any one rashly, but to be wary and circumspect, that he mayn't be cheated. This caution is extremely necessary for a Prince, without which he would be expos'd to many and great dangers. He

(6) And he made as though he would have gone further. *Luke* 24 28. (7) And he changed his behaviour before them, and feign'd himself mad in their hands, and scrabbled on the doors of the gate, and let his Spittle fall down upon his Beard, 1 *Sam.* 21. 13. (8) And the Lord said, take a Heifer with thee and say, I am come to sacrifice to the Lord, 1 *Sam* 16. 2. (9) And he put the skins of the Kids of the Goats upon his hands, and upon the smooth of his neck, *Gen.* 27. 16.

who knows and ſees moſt, believes and truſts leaſt, becauſe either Speculation, or Practice and Experience renders him cautious. Let a Prince's mind therefore be ſincere and pure; yet skill'd in the arts and practices of others. Experience will ſhew in what caſes it becomes a Prince to uſe theſe arts, that is, when he ſhall obſerve that the Malice and Stratagems of thoſe with whom he deals requires it.

In all other actions a Prince ought to diſcover a Royal Candor, ſometimes even to thoſe who would deceive him; for if they interpret it favourably, their deſigns are broken and begin to flag: beſides no Fraud is ſo generous as Truth, of which, if they can be ſure, they make him Maſter of the moſt private ſecrets of their Souls, without arming themſelves with the like practices for the future. What Nets are not ſpread, and what Stratagems contrived for the Cunning and Subtilty of the Fox? who ever ſet ſnares for the tame innocence of the Swallow?

Thoſe Princes whom the world admires for their Prudence and Conduct can't make uſe of this art; for none will believe that their actions are guided by chance or ſincerity; the demonſtrations of their truth are taken for counterfeit: In them Caution is accounted Malice; Prudence, Diſſimulation; and Circumſpection, Deceit. Some charge his Catholick Majeſty with theſe Vices, becauſe that by the natural Vivacity of his Judgment, and his continual experience in War and Peace, he was well acquainted with the treacherous dealing, unſincerity of the times, defending himſelf with ſo great Prudence, that his Enemies were either taken in their own Snares, or wholly broken by Counſel and Time. For this reaſon ſome Princes feign Sincerity and Modeſty, the better to palliate their intentions, or that Malice may not ſo eaſily trace them. So *Domitian* did (10). A Prince who would be thought wiſe in all things, is for that reaſon not ſo. To know how to be ignorant ſeaſonably is the greateſt Prudence: there's nothing more advantageous, nothing more difficult than to be wiſe with Moderation:

(10) *Simul ſimplicitatis, ac modeſtiæ imagine conditus, ſtudiumque litterarum, & amorem carminum ſimulans, quo velaret animum.* Tac. 4. hiſt.

this

this *Tacitus* commends in *Agricola* (11). All conspire against the most knowing, either through Envy, or to defend their own ignorance; or perhaps, because they suspect that which they cannot comprehend. *Saul* seeing that *David* was too wise, he began to be cautious of him (12).

Other Princes appear diverted in their actions, that they may be thought to act casually and without design. But such is the Malice of Policy now a days, that it not only penetrates those arts, but cavils too at the most plain sincerity, to the great prejudice of Truth and Publick Tranquility. There being nothing that is interpreted rightly; and Truth consisting in one point, and those in the circumference, from whence Malice may take aim, being infinite, they fall into great errors, who will wrest from anothers words and actions a different sense from what they appear; and interpreting others Designs in the worst sense, cause both parties to arm themselves, and so to live in continual Distrust and Jealousie of each other. He who is most ingenious in these Suspicions is fartheſt from Truth; for by the acuteness of his wit he penetrates farther than what is generally comprehended; and we are often positive of that in others which is only a deceit of our own imagination. So to a Sailor the Rocks seem to run, when 'tis only the Ship that is in motion. The shadows of Policy are usually greater than the Body it self, and sometimes this is neglected, and this made use of, so that there often arises greater Damage from the prevention, than could arrive from the thing fear'd. How oft has a Prince, through a groundless Jealousie, declared War against him who never thought of offending him? and both taking arms, that which was at first but a slight and ill-grounded presumption, ends in a bloody War: 'tis the same with such, as with ill built Ships, which the more they sally from side to side, are the sooner lost. I don't blame Diffidence, when 'tis the Daughter of Prudence, as we said elsewhere; but a total defect of good faith, with-

(11) *Retinuitque quod difficillimum est, ex sapientia modum.* Tac. in vit. Agr. (12) Wherefore when *Saul* saw that he behaved himself very wisely, he was afraid of him, 1. *Sam.* 18.15.

out which, neither Friendſhip, Society nor Covenants can be laſting. The Law of Nations would be invalid, and all things would be expos'd to Fraud and Deceit. All things are not acted with an ill intention. The greateſt Tyrant ſometimes propoſes juſt and honourable ends.

EMBLEM XLIV.

UNcertain and dubious is the motion of the Serpent winding it ſelf firſt one way then another, with ſuch uncertainty, that its very body knows not where it will erect its head. You'd think it made this way, and immediately it moves contrary, without leaving any tract of its paſſage, nor can the intention of its motion be diſcover'd (1). So occult ſhould be the Counſels and Deſigns of Princes. None ought to know whither they tend; they ſhould imitate God the great Governour of all things,

(1) But canſt not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth. *Joh.* 3. 8.

whoſe

whose ways are past finding out (2): for which reason the Seraphim cover'd his feet with his wings (3). Princes ought so carefully to conceal their designs, that their Ministers themselves should not penetrate them; nay, that they should be the first that should believe otherwise and be deceiv'd, thereby the more naturally and effectually, without the danger of Dissimulation, which is easily discover'd to confirm and secure their real intentions, instilling the same error into others, that so it may pass current, and be believed on all sides. Thus *Tiberius* did, when some murmur'd that he did not go to pacifie the mutinous Legions in *Hungary* and *Germany*, he pretended he would go with all speed, by which deceiving the prudent, he deceiv'd also the People and Provinces (4). The same also did King *Philip* the Second, who conceal'd his designs from his own Ambassadors, pretending others, when 'twas convenient for them to believe them, and perswade others to do so. A Prince can by no means use these arts, if his ingenuity be not so cautious and circumspect, as not to discover the real motions of his mind by his manner of Government, and let his Rivals and Enemies penetrate his heart and thoughts; that he may slip out of their hands, when they think they have him secure. This method by which another is deceiv'd is rather a sort of self defence than malice, where it is used according to reason, as the greatest Heroes have always done. What necessity is there of discovering the heart, which nature has on purpose hidden within the breast? even in the most slight and frivolous affairs, 'tis pernicious to divulge them, because it gives occasion by way of discourse to discover farther. Yet though the heart be hid within the breast, its ails and distempers are discover'd by the Arteries. Execution loses its force, not without loss of the reputation of a Prince's prudence, if he divulges his designs to the people. Secret and unknown designs threaten all, and distract and puzzle an Enemy. Secrecy in War is more necessary than in other

(2) And who is able to discover his ways? *Eccl.* 16. 19. (3) And with twain he covered his feet, *Isai.* 6. 2. (4) *Primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissimè Provincias fefellit.* Tac. 1. ann.

Affairs. Few Enterprises unseasonably detected succeed well. How is he surpriz'd who receives the Wound before he sees the Weapon; he who will not stir till he hears the clashing of Arms!

This I would have understood of Wars against Infidels, not of those between Christians, which ought to be proclaim'd, that there may be time for satisfaction, by which the effusion of Blood may be avoided, this being required to render a War lawfull and just. In this the *Romans* were to be commended, who instituted a College of twenty Priests whom they call'd Heralds, whose business it was to proclaim War, to make Peace, and to establish Alliances: These were also Judges in such cases, and took care that the party injur'd should receive satisfaction, appointing a term of thirty-three days for an amicable composition; in which time, if the disputes were not ended, they declar'd War by throwing a Spear into the Enemies Country (5), from which day commenc'd acts of Hostility and Incursions. Of these declarations there are divers examples in the Scriptures. *Jephtha* being chosen Prince of the *Israelites*, did not take up Arms against the *Ammonites*, before, by Ambassadors, he had enquir'd into the reason which mov'd them to the War (6). The method of our times is not so humane and generous. We experience the effects of War before we know the cause thereof. An unexpected and sudden Invasion makes the Injury the greater, and renders the minds of the parties implacable, this generally springs hence, that they take up arms not to satisfie Injuries, or atone for Damages receiv'd, but only from a blind Ambition to enlarge their Dominions: in which, without respect to Religion, Consanguinity or Friendship, they trample upon the most sacred Laws of Nature and Nations.

If a Prince suspects any of Infidelity, let him not immediately change the serenity of his Looks, or shew any sign of his suspicion, but rather by new Flattery and Honours endea-

(5) *Et baculum interquent emittit in auras, Principium pugnæ.* Virg.
(6) And *Jephtha* sent Messengers unto the King of the Children of *Ammon*, saying, What hast thou to do with me, that thou art come against me to fight in my Land? *Judg.* 11. 12.

your

vour to confirm their Minds and oblige them to Fidelity. Rigour is not always the beſt and ſafeſt remedy. Branches lopt off die, and revive not again. Thus *Marcellus* conniv'd at *Lucius Bancus* of *Nola*, a very rich, and withal very factious perſon, and though he well knew he ſided with *Hannibal*, he call'd him to him, told him, how his Vertue and Valour were eſteem'd by all, particularly by the *Roman* Generals, who were Witneſſes of his Bravery at the Battle of *Cannæ*: he honour'd him with words, ſupported with hopes and promiſes; gave him at all times free acceſs to his preſence, and by this courteous uſage ſo oblig'd him, that from that time the *Roman* State had not a more faithfull Friend than he. This Diſſimulation requires great care and prudence, for if the Offender ſhould miſtruſt it, he would interpret it a deſign to bring him to Puniſhment, and ſo would ſooner fire his Mines, or endeavour to preſerve himſelf by other violent means. Which is chiefly to be fear'd in Tumults and Crimes of the Multitude. Thus *Fabius Valens*, though he would not puniſh the Authors of a certain Commotion, yet did he permit ſome of them to be tried (7). But ſince 'tis very difficult to purge the mind of Treaſon once conceiv'd, and ſince ſuch crimes ought not to go unpuniſhed, 'tis then only fit to connive, when greater danger attends the declaration, or the number of Offenders makes the puniſhment impracticable. This *Julius Cæſar* conſider'd, when he commanded ſome Letters from *Pompey* to the *Roman* Nobility againſt him, which he had intercepted, to be burnt unopen'd, thinking 'twas the mildeſt method of pardoning, not to know the crime. A piece of true Generoſity and ſingular Prudence, ſince 'twas impoſſible to puniſh all, not to oblige himſelf to the inconveniencies of connivance. Thoſe of mean condition may be made examples, and the great ones conniv'd at, till a more convenient opportunity. But where the Delinquents may be puniſhed without danger, 'tis ſafer, by puniſhing them, to conſult ſelf-ſecurity, than to truſt to Diſſimulation; for this often emboldens great Spirits. *Hannibal* plotted to poiſon the *Carthaginian* Senate, and upon

(7) *Ne diſſimulans ſuſpectior foret.* Tac. 2. hiſt.

the

the diſcovery of the Treaſon, the Senators thought it ſufficient to make a Law to regulate the Exceſs and Expences of Feaſts, which gave *Hannibal* occaſion to plot afreſh againſt them.

That Art and Cunning moſt becomes a Prince, and that Diſſimulation is moſt allowable and neceſſary, which ſo compoſes and forms the Looks, Words and Actions towards him whom it would deceive, as that he mayn't miſtruſt that his deſigns are diſcover'd: for by that means there will be time to ſearch farther into them, and either to puniſh or elude them, while the party is not ſo ſollicitous in the concealment of them; but if he once find himſelf betray'd, he begins to tremble, and thinks himſelf not ſecure, till he has put his deſigns in execution. This oblig'd *Agrippina* to pretend not to underſtand the Murther which her Son *Nero* deſign'd her (8). This Diſſimulation or feign'd Simplicity is very neceſſary for Miniſters who ſerve cunning and deſigning Princes, who make it their care to conceal their intentions; in this *Tiberius* was a great Maſter (9). The ſame artifice the *Roman* Senate us'd, when the ſame *Tiberius*, after the death of *Auguſtus*, let them know, to try their thoughts, that he would not accept of the Empire, it being a burthen too heavy for him; they by a ſtudied ignorance and forc'd tears begg'd he would pleaſe to accept it, all being afraid to ſeem to underſtand his meaning (10). Unjuſt Princes hate thoſe who they think underſtand their ill practices, and take them for Enemies. They claim an abſolute Authority over mens minds, not ſubject to anothers underſtanding, they will have their Subjects Intellects at as much command as their Bodies, eſteeming it part of their duty and reſpect not to underſtand their deſigns (11). Wherefore 'tis diſallowable and dangerous to pry into the privacies and ſecret thoughts of Princes (12). *Tiberius* complaining

(8) *Solum infidiarum remedium eſſe ſi non intelligerentur.* Tac. 14. ann. (9) *Conſulto ambiguus.* Tac. 13. ann. (10) *Quibus uſus metus ſi intelligere viderentur* Tac. 1. ann. (11) *Intelligebantur artes: ſed pars obſequii in eo ne deprehenderentur.* Tac. 4. hiſt. (12) *Abditos Principis ſenſus, & ſi quid occultius parat exquirere illicitum, anceps, nec ideo eſſequare.* Tac. 6. ann.

that

that he was in danger from some of the *Roman* Senators, *Asinius Gallus* desir'd to know who they were, that they might be brought to Justice, which *Tiberius* took very ill, that he should desire to know what he had a mind to conceal (13). *Germanicus* acted more prudently, who though he well understood *Tiberius*'s meaning, and that he was recall'd from *Germany*, only to stop the progress of his Glory, readily obey'd without seeming to understand (14). Since Princes commands can't be declin'd, 'tis prudence to obey them chearfully, pretending ignorance of the motives, to avoid danger. Thus *Archelaus*, though he knew he was call'd to *Rome* by *Tiberius*'s Mother through Craft and Treachery, yet he dissembled it, and fearing violence if he should be thought to understand it, made what hast he could thither (15). And this Dissimulation is yet more necessary in the Errors and Vices of Princes, for they esteem them as enemies, who are acquainted therewith. In the Banquet at which *Germanicus* was poison'd, some ran for't, but the more prudent sat still looking upon *Nero*, that they might not be thought to mistrust the Murther, but rather to believe that it was natural (16).

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(13) *Eo ægrius accepit recludi quæ premeret.* Tac. 4. ann. (14) *Haud cunctatus est ultra Germanicus; quanquam fingi ea seque per invidiam parto jam decori abstrahi intelligeret.* Tac. 2. ann. (15) *Si intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat.* Tac. 2. ann. (16) *Trepidatum à circumsedentibus, diffugiunt imprudentes, at quibus altior intellectus, resistunt defixi, & Neronem intuentes.* Tac. 13. ann.

E M-

EMBLEM XLV.

THE Lion, the body of this deviſe, was among the *Ægyptians* the Emblem of Vigilance, and us'd to be ſet in the Frontiſpieces and Porches of their Temples. Hence *Alexander* the Great was engraven upon his Coin with a Lion's skin upon his head, to intimate that he was not leſs carefull and vigilant than valiant; for if at any time affairs requir'd that he ſhould not ſpend much time in ſleep, he was us'd to lie with his arm out of bed, holding a Silver ball in his hand, that if he ſhould fall aſleep, that falling into a braſs Baſon ſet underneath for that purpoſe, might waken him. He had never conquer'd the world, had he been ſleepy and lazy, he ought not to ſnore away his time, who has the Government of People committed to him †.

† *Non decet ignavum tot à producere ſomnum*
Nocte virum, ſub conſilio, ſub nomine cujus
Tot populi degunt, cui rerum cura, fideſque
Credita ſummarum eſt.

Thus

Thus the Lion knowing himſelf to be King of Beaſts, ſleeps but little, or if he does, 'tis with his Eyes open: he does not confide ſo much in his Empire, nor relie ſo much on his Majeſty, as not to think it neceſſary to ſeem to be awake even while he ſleeps. The Senſes do indeed require reſt ſometimes, but even then 'tis neceſſary Princes ſhould be thought to be awake. A ſleeping King differs not from another man: This Paſſion he ought to conceal from Friends as well as Enemies; he may ſleep, provided others think him waking. Let him not depend ſo much upon his Authority and Power, as to ſhut his Eyes to Care and Circumſpection. 'Tis a cunning Diſſimulation in the Lion to ſleep with his Eyes open, not with a deſign to deceive, but only to hide his ſleepineſs. And if any one deſigning againſt him be deceiv'd, finding him awake whom he thought he had ſeen ſleeping, 'tis his own fault not the Lion's. Nor is this pretence below the greatneſs of his Mind, no more than that other piece of cunning, of ſmoothing over the Tract of his feet with his Tail to deceive the Huntſmen. There is no Fortreſs ſecure unleſs guarded by Vigilance. The greater the Prince is, the greater care he ought to be crown'd with, not with the Sincerity of innocent Doves, but the prudence of ſubtle Serpents. For as when the Lion enters the Field, the other Beaſts lay aſide their natural Enmity, and give over fighting, and with joint force combine againſt him, ſo among men all arm and unite againſt the ſtrongeſt. Nothing is more pernicious to the Kingdom of *England*, than the greatneſs of the *Dutch*, for they take from them the Dominion of the Seas; nothing more prejudicial to *France*, than the Grandure of thoſe ſame Rebels, who once breaking down the Dikes oppos'd by *Spain*, would, like an Inundation ſoon o'erwhelm the Kingdom of *France*, as King *Henry* the Fourth wiſely obſerv'd: and yet what weigh'd more with both theſe two Crowns than their danger, their hatred, I mean, and fear of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, rais'd that people to that Grandure and Power, which upon alteration of affairs they may fear againſt themſelves. We are more ſollicitous and carefull to avert preſent dangers than future ones, though theſe are often greater. Fear obſtructs the

Senſes,

Senſes, nor permits the Mind to ſurvey things at a diſtance. A groundleſs Fear is often of more force than the greateſt reaſon of State. The power of *Spain* in *Italy* is a preſervative againſt the diſtempers of the *Genoeſe* liberty; the ſame alſo preſerves the Dukedom of *Tuſcany*, augments the Spiritual Empire of the Church, maintains the Authority of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and ſecures the *Venetians* from the Tyranny of the *Turks*; yet I know not whether the Miniſters of theſe Princes will acknowledge this, or act conformable to this their Intereſt. Such Jealouſies as are not guided by reaſon, work their own ruin. They who thought they ſhould be ſafe in diſarming the Emperour *Ferdinand* the Second, found afterwards that they had need of thoſe arms which they had caus'd him to disband. Many Provinces, which for Reaſons of State ſought the ruin of the *Roman* Empire loſt their own liberty with its ruin.

Let not a Prince put much confidence in exterior reſpect and ceremony, for 'tis all feign'd, and far from what it appears to be; Complaiſance is Flattery; Adoration, Fear; Reſpect, Force; and Friendſhip, Neceſſity. The good opinion which a Prince conceives of others, they make uſe of to circumvent and betray him. All watch his motions, to make a prey of him; all ſtrive to overcome him by Stratagem whom they can't by force; few or none act ſincerely with him; for he who is fear'd, ſeldom hears truth; and therefore he ought not to ſleep in confidence of his own power. Let him oppoſe Stratagem with Stratagem, and Power with Power. A generous mind cloſely and cautiouſly prevents, or couragiouſly reſiſts dangers.

But though in the preſent Emblem we allow of the arts of Diſſimulation, nay and think them neceſſary with the aforeſaid reſtrictions, yet does it more become the Miniſters than the Princes themſelves, for in them there is a certain occult Divinity which is offended at that care: Diſſimulation is uſually the Daughter of Fear and Ambition, neither of which ought to be diſcover'd in a Prince. The conveniences of Diſſimulation he ought to ſupply by ſilence and reſervedneſs. A Prince is more belov'd for being prudent and wary, provided he act with a Royal Sincerity. All hate Artifice, and

and on the contrary, a natural and open freedom is agreeable to all, as *Tacitus* remarks in *Petronius* (1).

(1) *Dicta factaque ejus quanto ſolutiora, & quandam ſui negligentiam præferentia, tanto gratius in ſpeciem ſimplicitatis accipiebantur.* Tac. 16. ann.

EMBLEM XLVI.

AN Oar under Water appears crooked and broken, which is caus'd by the refraction of Species: ſo in many things our opinion deceives us. For this reaſon the Sceptick Philoſophers doubted of all things, and durſt affirm nothing for certain. A wary piece of Modeſty and prudent Diſtruct of humane Judgment, and not without ground: for to a certain knowledge of things, there are required two diſpoſitions, that which is to know, and that which is to be known; the firſt is the Underſtanding, which uſes the external and internal Senſes to form Imaginations; the

the external are variously chang'd according to the abundance or defect of humours. The internal are also subject to changes, either from the same cause, or from the different Affections of the Organs. Whence proceed such different Opinions and Judgments, one judging differently of the same things from another, and both with equal uncertainty; for things change their shape and colour with their places, by being near or at a distance, or because none are purely simple, or because of natural Mixtures and Species which interpose between them and the Senses; so that we can't affirm things are so and so, but that they seem such, forming an Opinion not certain Knowledge. *Plato* found a yet greater incertainty in them, when he consider'd that there was nothing of so pure and perfect nature as God; and that in this life we could have no perfect knowledge of any thing, but saw only things present, and those too, Reflections and Shadows of others, so that 'twas impossible to reduce them to a Science. Not that I would have a Prince a Sceptick, for he who doubts all determines nothing; nor is there any thing more pernicious to Government, than Hesitation in resolving and executing. I only advise that he would not be too positive in his opinions, but believe that he may easily be deceiv'd in his Judgment, either through Affection, or Passion, or false Information, or Flattery and Insinuation, or because he don't care to hear truth which prescribes bounds to his Authority and Will, or because of the uncertainty of our own apprehension; or lastly, because few things are really what they appear, especially in Policy, which is now a-days nothing but the art of cheating, or not being cheated; wherefore they ought to be viewed in different lights, and a Prince ought carefully to consider and weigh them not slightly to pass them over, least he should give credit to appearances and groundless Stories.

These Cheats and politick Tricks can't be well known, unless the nature of man be also known; for the knowledge of him is absolutely necessary for a Prince, that he may know how to govern and beware of him. For tho' Government be an invention of men, 'tis in no danger but from them; for Man has no greater Enemy than Man. The Eagle hurts not

not the Eagle, nor the Serpent the Serpent; but man is continually plotting against his own kind. The Dens of Beasts are open and unguarded, but three of the four Elements are not sufficient for the guard of Cities, *viz.* Earth cast up into Walls and Entrenchments, Water confin'd to Ditches, and Fire enclos'd in Artillery. That some may sleep, the rest must watch. What instruments are there not invented against Life, as if it were not of it self short enough, and subject to the infirmities of Nature; and tho' the Seeds of all Vertues and Vices are in man as their proper Subject; 'tis with this difference, that those can't grow and increase without the Dew of celestial and supernatural Grace; but these do spontaneously bud out and flourish, which is the effect and punishment of man's first Sin; and as we always suffer our selves to be led by our Inclinations and Passions, which hurry us to ill, and as there is not the same danger in Vertue as in Vices, we therefore will lay before a Prince a short description of deprav'd human Nature.

Man is then the most inconstant Animal in the Creation; pernicious both to himself and others; Changes with his Age, Fortune, Interest and Passion; nor does the Sea vary so oft as his condition. He is deluded by empty appearances, and through self-conceit persists in his Errour. Revenge and Cruelty he esteems praise-worthy and honourable. Is well vers'd in Hypocrisie, and can dissemble his Passions a great while. With Words, Laughter and Tears he conceals his Thoughts. Veils his Designs with Religion. Confirms and maintains Lyes with Oaths. Is a Slave to Hope and Fear. Favours make him ungratefull. Dominion proud. Constraint vile and abject. Law fearfull. Benefits he inscribes on Wax; Injuries receiv'd on Marble; and those he offers on Brass. He is subject to Love, not out of Charity, but an appearance of good. A mere Slave to Anger. In Adversity prostrate and cringing. In Prosperity arrogant and proud. What he commends in himself, and affects, he wants; calls himself a true Friend, but knows not what Friendship means. Slights his own and covets others goods. The more he has, the more he desires. The good Fortune and Prosperity of others kills him with En-

vy. Under shew of Friendship, he is the greatest Enemy. Loves the Rigour of Justice in others, but hates it in himself.

This is a description of humane nature in general, nor are all these Vices in one person, but dispers'd in several. And though a Prince think that some one is wholly free from them, let him not therefore be less cautious of him, for there is no certainty in the Judgment which is made of the condition and nature of men. Vice often puts on the Mask of Vertue, the better to deceive, and the best of men may be deficient sometimes, either through human frailty, or the inconstancy of the times, or necessity, or interest, or appearance of publick or private good, or over-sight, or want of knowledge; whence it happens that the good are not less dangerous than the bad; and in case of doubt, 'tis more prudent for a Prince to avoid the danger, remembring (not to offend, but to defend) that, as *Ezekiel* said, *Briars and Thorns are with him, and he dwells among Scorpions* (1), whose Tails are always ready to strike (2). Such generally are Courtiers, they all advance their own pretensions by deluding the Prince, or by removing his best and most deserving Favourites, by means of his own power. How often have waves of Envy and Jealousie been interpos'd between the Eyes of the Prince, and the Minister's actions, making those appear crooked and disloyal which are drawn by the rule of Justice and his Service. Thus Vertue suffers, the Prince loses a good Minister, and Malice triumphs in its Practices; which that he may practically know, and not suffer Innocence to be wrong'd, I will here set down the most usual.

There are some Courtiers so subtle and cunning, that while they seem to excuse their Rival's faults, they then most accuse them. So *Augustus* reprehended the Vices of *Tiberius* (3).

(1) Ezek. 2. 6. (2) *Semper cauda in ictu est, nulloque momento meditari cessat, ne quando desit occasioni.* Plin. lib. 11. c. 25. (3) *Quanquam immani oratione, quædam de habitu, cultuque & institutis ejus fœdans, quæ velut excusando exprobraret.* Tac. 1 ann.

Others

Others there are, who to cover their Malice, and gain credit under pretence of Goodneſs, begin under the title of Friendſhip, with the praiſes of him whom they would remove, extolling ſome little inſignificant Service, and at the ſame time by a feign'd zeal for the Princes intereſt, which they pretend to prefer before all Friendſhip and Relation, gradually diſcover his faults, which may procure his Diſgrace or loſs of Place. But if their Ambition and Malice can't procure this, they at leaſt eſtabliſh their own Reputation by carping at their Friends faults, and gain themſelves Glory by his infamy (4). *Alphonſo* the Wiſe King of *Naples* was well acquainted with all theſe practices; wherefore when he heard one full of the praiſes of his Enemy; *Obſerve*, ſays he, *the Artifice of that man, and you will find that the drift of theſe commendations is only to do him more miſchief.* And ſo it fell out, when he had for ſix Months endeavour'd to gain credit to his intentions, that he might afterwards the ſooner be believ'd in what he ſhould ſay againſt him. Mines are always ſprung at a diſtance from the Walls where they are to do execution. Thoſe Friends who praiſe you are worſe than Enemies who murmur at you (5). Others, that they may cheat more ſecurely, praiſe in publick, and in private ſcandalize (6).

Nor is their ſubtilty leſs malicious, who ſo adorn their Calumnies, that they look like praiſes; as *Aleto* did in *Taſſo*.

Gran fabro di calumnie adorne in modi
Novi, che ſono accuſe e payen lodi.

Theſe the Pſalmiſt meant, when he ſaid, *They were turned aſide like a deceitful bow* (7).

Or as *Hoſea* the Prophet ſays, *like a deceitfull bow, which aims at one place and hits another* (8).

Some extoll their Rivals to that degree, that it may

(4) *Unde amico infamiam parat, inde gloriam ſibi recipete.* Tac. 1. ann. (5) *Peſſimum inimicorum genus, laudantes.* Tac. in vit. Agric. (6) *Secretis cum criminationibus infamaverat, ignarum, & quò cautius deciperetur, palam laudatum.* Tac. 1. hiſt. (7) Pſal. 78. 57. (8) Hoſ. 7. 16.

Plainly appear they don't ſpeak ſeriouſly and really, as was obſerv'd in *Tiberius* when he prais'd *Germanicus* (9).

Others make uſe of theſe commendations to raiſe their Enemy to ſuch poſts as may at laſt ruin them, or at leaſt procure their removal from Court, though to his greater advantage; which I believe was among others, the reaſon why *Ruigomez* caus'd *Ferdinand* Duke of *Alba* to be ſent into *Flanders*, when thoſe Provinces revolted. With the ſame intention *Marian* prais'd *Anthony* in the Senate, and propos'd for him the Government of the Neither *Spain* (10); and to facilitate it, he divided his Offices and Honours among his Friends. 'Tis ſcarce credible, how liberal Envy is, when it would remove him who eclipſes its Glory or obſtructs its Riſe: 'tis a wave which drives him who can't ſwim, upon the Shore of Fortune.

Sometimes Commendations are us'd with a deſign of creating Envy to the party prais'd; a ſtrange way of ſtriking, with others Vices. Many endeavour to introduce their own Creatures with ſuch Artifice, as no one can penetrate their deſigns; and to that end, they firſt carp at ſome trivial faults committed by others in the ſame Offices, then praiſe and cry up others as more fit for thoſe places, and ſometimes they entertain them as if they had no knowledge of them, as *Lacon* did *Piſo*, that he might be adopted by *Galba* (12).

Others, the better to conceal their Paſſion, lay their Plots at a diſtance, and inſtill their hatred gradually into the Prince's Mind, that being at laſt full, he may burſt upon their Enemies. Theſe means *Sejanus* us'd to alienate the Mind of *Tiberius* from *Germanicus* (13). And theſe the Holy Spirit ſeems to condemn under the Metaphor of plowing Lyes (14). Which is the ſame as ſowing Tares in the

(9) *Multaque de virtute ejus memoravit, magis in ſpeciem verbis adornata quam ut penitus ſentire crederetur.* Tac. 1. ann. (10) *Igitur Mucianus quia propalam opprimi Antonius nequibat, multis in ſenatu laudibus cumulatum ſecretis promiſſis onerat, Citeriorem Hiſpaniam oſtentans diſceſſu Cluvii Rufi vacuam.* Tac. 4 hiſt. (12) *Sed callidè ut ignotum juvenem.* Tac. 1. ann. (13) *Odia in longum jacens, qua reconderet, auſerret premeret.* Tac. 1 ann (14) Deviſe not (Lat. *noli arare*) a lye against thy Brother, *Eccl* 7. 23.

Mind,

Mind, that they may afterwards reap the fruit of Wickedneſs (15).

Some, not with leſs cunning, firſt deceive thoſe Miniſters in whom the Prince has moſt confidence, by inſinuating into them ſome Falſhoods, which they afterwards imprint in the Prince. This was the art of that lying Spirit of the Prophet *Micaiah*, which propos'd to deceive King *Achab*, by being in the Mouth of all his Prophets, and God permitted it as the moſt effectual means (16).

There are others, who make advantage of the injuries the Prince has receiv'd, and perſwade him to revenge, either that they may themſelves be thereby reveng'd of their Enemies, or elſe cauſe him to be turn'd out of Favour and Truſt. By this Artifice *John Pacheco* perſwaded King *Henry* the IVth. to apprehend *Alphonſo Fonſeca* Archbiſhop of *Sevil*, and afterwards advis'd him privately to provide for his own ſafety.

Theſe are the uſual practices of Courts, and though they are oft diſcover'd, yet they never want Patrons, nay, there are thoſe who will ſuffer themſelves to be cheated twice; whence we often ſee bare-fac'd Impoſtors remain at Court ſo long; an effect of the weakneſs of our deprav'd Nature, which is more taken with Lyes than Truth. We are more apt to admire the Picture of a Horſe than a real one, that being but a Lye of th'other. What is Rhetorick with all its Tropes and Figures, but a kind of Falſhood and Cheat? From all which we may ſee, how much danger there is of a Prince's being deceiv'd in his opinion, unleſs he with great application and diligence examine things, ſuſpending his belief, untill he not only ſees the things themſelves, but alſo as it were, feels them, thoſe eſpecially which he has only by hear-ſay. For the Breath of Flattery, and the Winds of Hatred and Envy enter at the Ears, and raiſe the Paſſions and Affections of the Mind, before there can be any Certainty of the truth of the thing. 'Twould therefore be very convenient for a Prince to have his Ears near his

(15) Ye have plowed wickedneſs, ye have reaped iniquity, ye have eaten the fruit of Lyes. *Hoſ.* 10. 13. (16) And he ſaid, I will go forth and be a Lying Spirit in the mouth of all his Prophets, 1 *Kin.* 22. 22.

Thoughts and Reason. As are the Owl's (for that reason perhaps sacred to *Minerva*) upon the top of its head, the Chamber of the Senses, all of which we have need of in hearing, least our ears should deceive us. Let a Prince therefore take great care thereof, for when the ears are once free from affections, and reason sits there as judge, every thing is well examin'd; all things relating to Government depend upon the relation of others: therefore what *Aristotle* said of Bees seems improbable; that is, that they are deaf; for that would be a great inconveniency for that prudent and politick little Animal, since those two Senses, Hearing and Seeing, are the Instruments through which we draw Wisdom and Experience; both these we have need of to prevent our being deceiv'd by Passion, Nature or Inclination. The prepossess'd *Moabites* thought the Waters upon which the Sun shone, were Blood (17). The same noise of the people, to the Ears of Warlike *Joshua*, seem'd their Shoots to Battle; and to those of gentle *Moses* a Harmony of Musick (18). For which cause, God, though omniscient, would verifie with his Eyes what he had heard of *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* (19). When therefore a Prince shall have seen, heard, and felt things, he can't be deceiv'd, or if he be, 'twill not be his fault. From all which we may see how ill contriv'd was that image of the *Thebans*, by which they expres'd the qualifications of their Princes, for it had ears, but no Eyes, these being full as necessary as those: the Ears to know things, and the Eyes to believe them, in which the Eyes are most trusty, for truth is no farther distant from a Lye than the Eyes from the Ears.

(17) And they rose up early in the Morning, and the Sun shone upon the Waters, and the *Moabites* saw the water on the other side as red as Blood, 2 *Kings* 3. 22. (18) And *Joshua* heard the noise of the people, as they shouted, he said unto *Moses*, There is a noise of war in the camp. And he said, it is not the voice of them that shout for Mastery, neither is it the voice of them that cry for being overcome: but the noise of them that sing, do I hear, *Exod.* 32. 17, 18. (19) I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it, which is come unto me; and if not, I will know, *Gen.* 18. 21.

Nor

Nor has a Prince need of leſs diligence and attention in diſcuſſing the Counſels and Propoſals of his Miniſters, before he puts them in execution; ſuch as concern raiſing Money, regulating the Government, and other matters relating to Peace and War, for their uſual aim is their own particular intereſt, and effects don't always correſpond to our expectations. Ingenuity often approves Counſels which Experience afterwards rejects. Yet is it imprudence wholly to ſlight them, for the ſucceſs of one only makes amends for the vanity of the reſt. *Spain* had never obtain'd the Empire of the new world, if their Catholick Majeſties had not gave more credit to *Columbus* than other Princes. Yet to be over credulous or confident to act whatever is propos'd, is either Levity or Folly. *Firſt*, The condition of the Propoſer is to be conſider'd, his Experience in the matter; what end he may have in deceiving; what intereſt if he ſucceeds; alſo the means and time by which he thinks to accompliſh it: *Nero*, for want of theſe conſiderations, was much diſappointed about a Treaſure which one told him he had found in *Africk* (20). Many Projects at firſt ſeem conſiderable, which prove at laſt vain and uſeleſs. Many ſeem light and frivolous, from whence reſult great advantages. Many which have been ſucceſsfully experienc'd in ſmall matters, in affairs of greater moment ſucceed not. Many ſeem eaſie to reaſon, which are difficult in the operation. Many are prejudicial at firſt, and advantageous afterwards, and ſo on the contrary; and many have different effects from what were at firſt propos'd.

The lazy and blind Vulgar don't know truth, unleſs they light on it by chance, for they fooliſhly form opinions of things before Reaſon foreſees the inconveniences, and promiſe themſelves a more certain knowledge from the ſucceſs, the guide of the ignorant, and ſo if any one ſhould go about to argue theſe people out of their opinions he would loſe his time and pains. There are no better means, than to make them ſee and feel their Errors; ſo ſtartling Horſes uſe to be

(20) *Non auctoris, non ipſius negotii fide ſatis ſpectata, nec miſſis viſcribus per quas noſceret an vera aſſererentur.* Tac. 16. ann.

whip'd and spur'd to make them go forwards to see the vanity of the shadow which frightned them. This means *Pacuvius* us'd to appease the people of *Capua*, who rose against the Senate: he first shut all the Senators by their own consent, into a certain Hall; then calls the people together, tells them, that if they have a mind to take off or punish the Senators, now is their time, for they are lock'd up without Arms; but withal tells them, it would be necessary to take them one by one, and immediately to elect another in the room of him whom they took off, for that without those heads the State could not subsist a Moment. He puts all their Names in a Pot, draws out one, and asks the people what they would have done with him; they all cry out, let him die; then he advises them to elect another; this confounds them, and they don't know who to propose; and so a second and third time they could not agree upon their choice. At last their confusion taught them, that 'twas better to bear with an ill already experienc'd, than to attempt a remedy, and so they immediately commanded the Senators to be releas'd. The people is very furious in its opinions, and 'tis often, especially upon any imminent danger, a piece of great management in a Prince to govern it with his own hand, keeping pace with it in its ignorance. The people are often reduc'd to their duty, by laying before them the inconveniences which have hapned in the like cases; for they are more mov'd by Example than Reason (21).

(21) *Plebis ingenia exemplis magis quam ratione capiuntur.* Macrob.

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EMBLEM XLVII.

EVEN Vertues have their Dangers; they ſhould be always in a Prince's Mind, but not always in exerciſe. Publick intereſt ought to dictate when and where to uſe them. Us'd without Prudence, they either become Vices, or are not leſs hurtfull than them. In a private perſon they reſpect only him; in a Prince both him and the State too. They ought to ſuit with the common intereſt of all, not with that of particular perſons. Civil Science preſcribes certain limits to the Vertue of him who commands and him who obeys. Juſtice is not in the power of the Miniſter, but ought always to be directed by the Laws. In the Prince, who is the Soul thereof, it has certain conſiderations, which reſpect the Government in common. In the Subject Commiſeration can never be exceſſive; in a Prince 'tis often dangerous. To demonſtrate this in the preſent Emblem, I have made uſe of that method, which according

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to *Sanazaro* and *Garcilazo*, the Shepherds us'd to catch Crows. Which ſhews Princes with how much circumſpection they ought to intereſt themſelves in the misfortunes and dangers of others. They faſtned a Crow by the Pinions of its Wings to the ground, this ſeeing others fly by, would, by making a grievous noiſe, excite them to pity, and come down to its aſſiſtance.

Cercavanla, i alguna mas piadoſa
Del mal ageno de la compañera.
Que del ſuyo à viſada, ô timeroſa, &c.

For that which was faſtned to the ground, catches hold of another with its Claws, thereby to free it ſelf, and that again of another, which the ſame Compaſſion brought to their aſſiſtance; ſo that for the ſake of one another, they are all caught. In which ſomething may be attributed to the Novelty of the accident, for ſometimes that appears Compaſſion which is only a motion of natural Inquietude. I allow the Eyes and Heart to be mov'd with Compaſſion, at the Misfortunes and Complaints of foreign Princes. But not to arm upon every ſlight occaſion for their Defence. For a private perſon to expoſe himſelf to dangers to ſerve his Friend, is brave and commendable, but in a Prince blameable, if he hazzards the publick ſafety for the ſervice of a Foreigner, without good grounds and reaſons of State; nor are thoſe of Conſanguinity or private Friendſhip ſufficient. For a Prince is born more for his Subjects than his Relations and Friends; he may indeed aſſiſt them, but without incurring any damage or danger. When aſſiſtance renders the danger ſo common, that the ruin of one draws after it that of the other, there is no tie of Obligation or Piety can excuſe it: but when intereſts are ſo interwoven and united, that one muſt follow the fate of th'other, who-ever aſſiſts in that caſe acts his own cauſe; and 'tis more prudence (as we have ſaid) to oppoſe dangers in a foreign State than to expect them at home. Alſo when 'tis the publick intereſt to aſſiſt the oppreſſed; the Prince who is moſt potent, is, without doubt, obliged to it. For between Princes Juſtice can't have recourſe to the common Tribunals;

'tis in the Authority and Power of the strongest, that it finds Refuge. In such case 'twould be a kind of Tyranny to be an idle Spectator only, and give way to that Policy which aims to imbroil other Princes, that themselves may be more secure through their dissensions, and raise their own fortunes upon the ruin of others, for such as these the supreme Judge of the intentions severely punishes.

These cases require great Prudence, to weigh the ingagement with the interest, least we should entangle our selves in others Misfortunes, and make their danger ours, for we must not afterwards expect the same return. *Spain* pitied the Misfortunes of the Empire, and assisted it with its Blood and Treasures, from whence proceeded the Invasions which *France* made in *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Burgundy* and *Spain*, the whole War lying at present upon this Monarchy, yet won't some in *Germany* acknowledge this, or believe that it is for their sakes.

Experience therefore in our own and others Misfortunes ought to make us more cautious in our Commiseration and Assistance. How often, by assisting the Misfortunes of our Friends, have we lost both our selves and him, being afterwards ungratefull for the benefit! How often have these incurr'd the hatred of a Prince by those very means by which they have endeavour'd to serv'd him. *Germanicus* was adopted by *Tiberius*, appointed to succeed him in the Empire, and so faithfull in his Service, that he took it as an affront, that the Legions should offer him the Empire (1), and when they press'd him to it would have stabb'd himself (2); and the more faithfully he behav'd himself, the less gratefull he was to *Tiberius*. His care in appeasing the Legions with Donatives was distastfull (3). His Piety in gathering and burying the Relicts of *Varus*'s Army, he interpreted Ambition (4). The Compassion of his Wife *Agrippina* in cloathing the Soldiers, seem'd a desire of rule (5).

(1) *Quasi scelere contaminaretur.* Tac. 1. ann. (2) *At ille moriturum potiùs quam fidem exueret, clamitans, ferrum à latere diripuit, elatumque deferebat in pectus.* Id. ibid. (3) *Sed quod largiendis pecuniis & missione festinata favorem militum quæsivisset, bellicaque Germanici gloria augebatur.* Id. ibid. (4) *Quod Tiberio haud probatum.* Id. ibid. (5) *Id Tiberii animum altius penetravit.* Id. ibid.

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In a word, all *Germanicus*'s actions were misinterpreted (6). *Germanicus* knew this Hatred, and that he was call'd upon pretence of Honour, from his true Glory in *Germany*, and endeavour'd to oblige him more by Obedience and Observance (7); but this made him still more odious, till Gratitude, oppress'd by the weight of Obligation, he sent him to the Eastern Provinces (8), where he caus'd him to be poison'd by *Piso*, rejoycing in the death of him, who was the support of his Empire (9). Some Princes are Idols, whose Eyes are, (as *Jeremiah* says) blinded with the dust of those who enter in to worship them (10). They acknowledge no Services, and what is worse, won't be convinc'd of them, nor that their liberty is subject to desert, and therefore take great care to disengage themselves from it. Him who has perform'd signal Services they charge with some Crime or other, that his pretension to reward being reduc'd to a defence, he may take his Pardon for a sufficient Recompence. They seem dis-satisfied with those very Services which they inwardly approve; to avoid being oblig'd, or they attribute them to their own orders, and sometimes that very thing which they desir'd and commanded to be done, they repent of afterwards, and are angry with him who facilitated it, as if he had done it from his own motive. The Heart of a King is unsearchable (11). 'Tis a deep Sea which is to day boisterous and raging, from the same cause which made it yesterday calm and serene. The Goods of Fortune and Mind, and also Riches and Honours, they sometimes esteem meritorious, sometimes injurious and criminal (12).

The most officious diligence often displeases them. That of *Uzzah* to God, in putting forth his arm to support the

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(6) *Cuncta Germanici in deterius trahentes.* Id. Ibid. (7) *Quanto summe sibi propior, tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti.* Id. ibid. (8) *Nervisque provinciis impositum, dolo simul & causibus objectaret.* Tac. 2. ann. (9) *Non Germanici mortem inter prospera ducebat.* Tac. 4. ann. (10) Their eyes be full of dust, through the feet of them that come in. *Baruc.* 6. 17. (11) Prov. 25. 3. (12) *Nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique honores pro crimine & ob virtutes certissimum exitium.* Tac. 1. hist.

falling

falling Ark, coſt him his life (13). Princes uſually recompence negligence rather than care, and reward the leaſt Services with greateſt Honours. To be oblig'd they reckon ſervile and mean, and chuſe Ingratitude rather than Acknowledgment. The prompt zeal and liberality of *Junius Blaſus* towards the Emperor *Vitellius* got him his Hatred inſtead of Thanks (14). The renown'd *Roger* of *Catalonia*, being at *Conſtantinople* to aſſiſt *Fadricus* King of *Sicily*, was recall'd by the Emperor *Andronicus* to defend the Empire; he did things beyond belief; with a ſmall number of his valiant *Catalonians*; he repell'd the *Turks*, and when he expected a reward for his Services, the Emperour upon ſome ſlight pretence, put him to death. And very often ſome frivolous pretence is more regarded than the greateſt Services; for Gratitude is eſteem'd a burthen to the mind, but Revenge diſcharges the Bile. There is this Misfortune in the Service of Princes, that no man knows when he obliges or diſobliges them (15). And if we would form any method of Policy from the light of Hiſtory, and the Misfortunes which we incur through our over-officiouſneſs, we had need diſtinguiſh between Vertues, that we may know how to uſe them, by conſidering that though they are all in us as their proper Subject, yet do they not all operate within us. Some are practiſed externally, others internally. Theſe are Fortitude, Patience, Modeſty, Humility, Religion, among which, ſome are only ſo far for us, that thoſe external ones contribute no more thereto, than the ſecurity of humane Society, and an eſteem for their own Excellence, as are Humility, Modeſty, and Humanity. So that the more perfect theſe Vertues are, the more they work upon the Minds and Approbation of others, provided we can keep a

(13) And *Uzzah* put forth his hand to the Ark of God, and took hold of it, for the Oxen ſhook it And the anger of the Lord was kindled againſt *Uzzah*, and God ſmote him there for his error, and there he died by the Ark of God, 2 *Sam.* 6. 6. (14) *Lugdunenſis Galliæ rector, genere illuſtris, largus animo, & par opibus, circumdaret Principi miniſteria comitaretur liberaliter, eo ipſo ingratus quamvis, odium Vitellius humilibus blanditiis velaret.* Tac. 2. hiſt. (15) And no man knoweth either Love or Hatred, by all that is before them, *Eccl.* 9. 1.

Deco-

Decorum. Other of those Vertues, though they are internal, yet their Operation depends upon external Actions, as Valour and Magnanimity. In these there is no danger, if they be govern'd by Prudence, which prescribes time and manner to all Vertues. For excessive and imprudent reservedness usually obstructs our interest; we losing our selves under a Notion of Reputation and Glory, while those who suit themselves to the Times, Necessity and Flattery, obtain the Rewards and Commendations. In the exercise of those Vertues which respect the good of others, such as Liberality and Compassion, there is always some danger, because neither the Rewards of Princes, nor the acknowledgments of Friends are answerable to them; we perswade our selves that our Services will be acceptable, and that to assist our Misfortunes, they will reciprocally expose their own Lives and Fortunes. Into this error we are led by our own Sense of Gratitude, which often makes us heedless of our own ruin, to satisfie for Obligations receiv'd. But if we fall into any Calamity they withdraw and desert us. There were but three of *Job*'s Friends who visited him in his Afflictions, and they too by God's Command (16): nor did they assist him but with Words and severe Advice, which he had need of all his Patience to bear. But after God again smil'd upon *Job*, and began to heap on him Riches in abundance, then came flocking to him, not only his Brethren and Relations, but those too who knew him not but by sight, and sat down at Table with him, that they might partake of his Prosperity (17).

This error, under pretence of mutual assistance and obligation has been the ruin of many, who have reap'd nought but Ingratitude and Hatred from their benefits and kindnesses, and created Enemies of those who before were their Friends, so that they die friendless and miserable. The Ho-

(16) Now when *Job*'s three Friends heard of all this evil that was come upon him, they came every one from his own place, *V. Lat. venerunt sicut locutus est dominus ad eos*, Job 2. 9. (17) Then came there unto him all his Brethren, and all his Sisters, and all that had been of his acquaintance before, and did eat Bread with him in his house, *Job* 42. 11.

ly Spirit has cautioned us of this: *My Son*, ſays he, *if thou be ſurety for thy Friend, if thou haſt ſtricken thy hand with a ſtranger; thou art ſnar'd with the words of thy mouth, thou art taken with thine own words* (18). He adviſes us to deliver our ſelves from the hand of a Friend, as a Roe from the hand of the Hunter, and as a Bird from the hand of the Fowler (19). Do good but look about ye, is a *Spaniſh* Proverb drawn from Experience. Thoſe are not ſubject to theſe Misfortunes who live only to themſelves, nor ſuffer themſelves to be mov'd by Compaſſion or Charity, to aſſiſt the calamities of others, being deaf to their Tears and Groans, avoiding all occaſions of intermedling with them, whence they live free from cares and troubles, and if they gain not new Friends, they however keep thoſe they have; not being eſteem'd for the good they do, but for the ill they don't do, this being in them accounted Prudence. Beſides we naturally eſteem them moſt, who have leaſt need of us, who without being beholden to us, live content with their own. Whence conſidering the uſual cuſtom of Mankind, it may perhaps ſeem adviſeable to be an idle Spectator of others Calamities, and minding only our own intereſts, not to engage our ſelves in their dangers and troubles. But this policy would be againſt our duty as Chriſtians, Charity, and generous Vertues, which gives us a nearer acceſs to God. This would diſſolve all civil Society, which wholly conſiſts in the mutual aſſiſtance of one another. Vertue needs no outward acknowledgments; being to it ſelf a fair reward. Nay, 'tis then moſt perfect and glorious, when it expects the leaſt return; for 'tis a kind of Avarice to do good in hopes of a Retaliation, which if not obtain'd creates a laſting reſentment. Let us therefore be guided by the conſideration of what we owe our ſelves, and alſo by the example of God Almighty, who beſtows his Bleſſings even on the Ungratefull. Yet 'tis Prudence to have reſpect to the time when and where acknowledgments may be expected, for 'tis too hard for a man, after great Expences, great Hazards and Hardſhips undergone for another, to meet with nothing

(18) Prov. 6. 1. (19) Ibid.

but

but Ingratitude in return. To him who underſtands the nature and uſual ways of Mankind, this will not ſeem at all new; but foreknowing it, will ward the blow, and avoid being hurt.

We ſhould alſo well conſider, whether it be really our Friend's intereſt for us to undertake his aſſiſtance: for ſometimes we do him an injury by our diligence, becauſe 'tis either unſeaſonable or imprudent, by which we ruin both our ſelves and him too. This officiouſneſs *Thraſeas* check'd in *Ruſticus Arulenus*, though in his own behalf, knowing that kindneſs would be prejudicial to the Interceſſor, and of no advantage to the criminal (20).

Nor is it leſs imprudent and dangerous to be over zealous for the publick good and welfare of the Prince, then eſpecially, when without obligation of duty, or certain proſpect of remedy, we intermeddle with their concerns to our own apparent ruin. I don't mean, that we ſhould be inſenſible at the ſight of others ſufferings, or that for our own eaſe and quiet we ſhould baſely truckle to the Times and Tyranny. But that we ſhould not fooliſhly ruin our ſelves, and that we ſhould follow the example of *Lucius Piſo*, who in difficult and deplorable times, knew how to preſerve himſelf with ſuch Prudence, that he was never the Author of any ſervile propoſition, and upon abſolute neceſſity, did it with great Moderation (21). Oftentimes we are forward in giving our advice in things which don't concern us, perſwaded that therein conſiſts the remedy of the publick ills: not conſidering how eaſily we are deceiv'd with a conceit of our own opinions, without particular knowledge of the motives upon which Princes act. Nothing is more dangerous than to adviſe; even he who is oblig'd in duty to it, ought to avoid it if not ask'd; for Advice is judg'd by the event, and that depends upon future accidents, which no Prudence can foreſee, and that which falls out ill is attributed to the Counſellor, but not that which ſucceeds well.

(20) *Ne vana, & res non profitura, interceſſori exitioſa inciperet.* Tac. 16 ann. (21) *Nullius ſervilis ſententiæ ſponte author, & quoties neceſſitas ingrueret, ſapienter moderans.* Tac. 6. ann.

EM.

EMBLEM XLVIII.

HOW are Princes arm'd against foreign Enemies! and how unprovided against domestick ones! who follow them even through the midst of their Guards, yet do they take no notice of them. These are Flatterers and Parasites; nor is there less danger from their Fawns than from an Enemy's Sword. Flattery has ruin'd more Princes than force. What Royal Purple has not this Moth eaten? What Sceptre has not this Worm gnaw'd? It insinuates it self into the tallest Cedars, and preying upon the root soon brings them to the ground. 'Tis a damage not discern'd, but by entire ruin; the effect is sooner seen than the cause. 'Tis a false Silk-worm which inhabits the gilded Roofs of Palaces. The present Emblem compares it to a Lizzard, with a gay starry back and poison'd Breast. It appears to the Prince under the shining Cloak of Zeal, the better to conceal its perni-

cious deſigns (1). Let a Prince know, that all brightneſs does not denote the Excellence of the Subject; for in the Scripture it is a ſign of a Leproſie (2); and rotten wood gives a kind of light in the dark. There are ſome glimmerings of good, even in the blackeſt Soul. Sometimes in the very bowels of Severity, the Aſſertor of Liberty, and Oppoſer of the Prince. Flattery baſely diſcovers it ſelf; as when *Valerius Meſſalla* propos'd the adminiſtring the Oath of Allegiance to *Tiberius* each year, and being ask'd by whoſe order he did it, he reply'd, That 'twas from his own proper motive; for that in all matters of publick concern, he would follow the Dictates of his own reaſon, even though he ſhould offend by it (3). Not unlike this, was that of *Ateius*, who when *Lucius Ennius* was accus'd of having deſtroy'd the Silver Statue of *Tiberius*, to make houſe Plate on, and *Tiberius* being willing to wave the Accuſation, openly oppos'd it, ſaying, That the Senators ought not to be depriv'd of the power of judging, nor ſhould ſuch a Crime go unpuniſh'd; that he might indeed forgive his own Grievances, but ſhould not be prodigal of the Injuries done the State (4).

The Lizzard changes its skin every year, ſo alſo does Flattery, as oft, I mean, as the Prince changes his mind. The Miniſters of King *Alphonſo* the Tenth, adviſ'd him to Divorce Queen *Violante*, for Barrenneſs, arguing, that the Marriage was void, which they afterwards declar'd valid, and perſwaded the King to retake her to his Bed †

There is no Animal more cunning than the Lizzard, whence the Lawyers call all falſe practice *Crimen Stellionatus.* Who uſes more cheats than the Flatterer, impoſing

(1) Wo unto them that call evil good and good evil; that put darkneſs for light, and light for darkneſs; that put bitter for ſweet, and ſweet for bitter, *Iſai.* 5. 20. (2) When a man ſhall have in the skin of his Fleſh, a riſing, a ſcab, or bright ſpot, *Levit.* 13. 2. (3) *Sprete dixiſſe, Reſpondit; neque in iis quæ ad remp. pertinerent, conſilio niſi ſua uſurum, vel cum periculo offenſimis, ea ſola ſpecies adulandi ſupererat.* Tac. 1. ann. (4) *Palam aſpernante Ateio Capitone quaſi per libertatem. Non enim debere tribi patribus vim ſtatuendi, neque tantum maleficium impune habendum; ſani lentius in ſuo dolore eſſet; reipub. dolores ut largiretur.* Tac. 3. ann. † Mar. hiſt. Hiſp.

upon

upon the Will, the nobleſt faculty of man; ſo much above the other Senſes, that without it the reſt would be inſlav'd.

The Lizzard does not kill him whom it wounds, but only benumbs him, and puts him, as it were, beſide himſelf, by raiſing divers paſſions in him. The proper quality of a Flatterer, who with ſpecious pretences charms the Eyes and Ears of Princes, and put them ſo beſide themſelves, that they can't ſearch the truth of things. The Lizzard is ſo inveterate againſt man, that when it caſts its skin, it eats it up, leaſt it ſhould be uſefull in the cure of the Falling-ſickneſs. A Flatterer deſires a Prince may not recover from his errors; for Diſabuſe is the Son of Truth, which is an utter Enemy to Flattery. Flatterers envy the proſperity of Princes, and hate them as thoſe who by their power, and a certain neceſſity oblige them to the Slavery of Diſſimulation and Flattery, and force them to ſpeak one thing and think another.

A Prince has need of great Prudence to diſtinguiſh Flattery: for it conſiſts in Praiſe, which he will find from thoſe who are far from that Vice. This is the difference that a Flatterer promiſcuouſly commends all, honourable or baſe, good or bad; but the other only that which is juſt and good. When therefore a Prince ſees things attributed to him which are due to others, or which are mere accidents (ſ); frivolous things commended and extoll'd which don't deſerve it, ſuch as tend more to pleaſure than Reputation. Such as avert his mind from the toil of affairs, ſuch as reſpect more his own advantage than the publick intereſt, and that the perſon who ſo commends theſe things, does not rightly govern himſelf, that he does not ſhew any concern or readineſs to admoniſh him, when he commits any thing below his Perſon and Majeſty; nay, that he excuſes his Errors, and regards more his own Intereſt than his Service, that he never ſeems offended at any thing, that he may be always near him, that he does not aſſociate with thoſe who are zealous Patriots and lovers of their Country. That he

(ſ) O my People, they which lead thee cauſe thee to err, and deſtroy the way of thy paths, *Iſa.* 3. 12.

praiſes thoſe whom he thinks agreeable to him, and whom, if he would, he cannot turn out of favour, that when he finds himſelf fixt therein, makes it his buſineſs to gain the eſteem of others, by attributing all good ſucceſs to himſelf, and by accuſing the Prince in that he did not follow his Counſel; that to gain credit, he brags that he reprehended his Errors, when in private he excus'd commended and approv'd. Such a one as this a Prince may well mark for a Flatterer, whom he ought to avoid as the moſt venomous Poiſon, and directly oppoſite to that ſincere Love with which he ought to be ſerv'd (6).

But though theſe marks are plain enough, yet is ſelf Conceit generally ſo blind, as not to diſcern Flattery, but ſuffer it ſelf to be coax'd with its own Praiſes, which exerciſe an agreeable Tyranny over the Senſes, ſo that there is no Flattery ſo groſs, which it does not believe its due. Sometimes this happens from a remiſs and negligent Goodneſs, which not duly conſidering the inconveniences of Flattery, bears it, and interprets it Submiſſion and Zeal. This was the fault of *Ferdinand* King of *Galicia*, who was hated of his Subjects for liſtening too much to Flatterers. And King *Alphonſo* the Ninth, for the ſame reaſon, did not a little obſcure the Glory of his other Vertues and Exploits. Let Princes therefore believe, that they may be ſo deceiv'd either through Self conceit, or their natural Goodneſs, that though there be ſufficient tokens to diſtinguiſh Flattery, which that they may know and avoid, I would adviſe them to read Hiſtory, and obſerve by what Tricks and Cheats their Anceſtors were cajol'd, and what Loſſes they have incurr'd thereby, and then conſider, whether or no they are not ſerv'd in the ſame manner. One time only, when King *Abaſuerus* could not ſleep, and commanded the Chronicles to be read to him, he preſently learn'd from thence what never any one durſt tell him, the Deſigns and Tyranny of his Favourite *Haman*, and the faithfull Services of *Mordecai:* thoſe hid hitherto by Diſſimulation and Flattery, theſe

(6) *Blanditiæ peſſimum veri affectus venenum; ſua cuique utilitas.* Tac. 1. hiſt.

ſtifled

ſtified through Malice, by which being diſabus'd, he puniſh'd the one and rewarded the other. Yet even in this they ought to beware of Flattery, wherefore let them read themſelves; for perhaps if another reads, he will either paſs over thoſe caſes which ſhould inſtruct them, or change ſome Sentences and Words. O unhappy State of Majeſty, which can't be ſure of the truth even of Books, which are eſteem'd the faithfulleſt Friends of Mankind.

A Prince ought alſo to get a ſight of all Libels which are publiſh'd againſt him: for though Malice dictate them, yet Truth writes them, and he will find therein what his Courtiers conceal, and gather Prudence and Inſtruction from his Infamy. *Tiberius* ſeeing how he had been cheated, in not diſcovering the practices of *Sejanus* in time, caus'd to be publiſh'd the Will of *Fulcinius Trius*, which was a Satyr upon him, that he might ſee, though to his ſhame, the Truths which Flattery had conceal'd from him (7).

Let not a Prince always view his own actions in the glaſs of thoſe that are about him, but rather let him conſult Strangers, zealous Men, and ſuch as are of ſtrict Lives and Converſation, and obſerve if they all agree in one opinion: for the variable and inconſtant glaſſes of Flattery never repreſent things as they really are, but as the Prince would have them. And 'tis better to be corrected by the wiſe, than cheated by the Flattery of Fools (8). To this end 'tis neceſſary ſometimes to conſult one, ſometimes another, making them lay aſide Modeſty and Fear, by letting them know the obligation they are under to ſpeak Truth. Even *Samuel* durſt not freely tell what God commanded him, to *Eli* the High-Prieſt (9), until he entreated him (10).

(7) *Quæ ab haredibus occultata, reſtitari Tiberius juſſit: patientiam libertatis alienæ oſtentans, & contemptor ſuæ infamiæ, an ſcelerum Sejani dici neſcius, mox quodam modo dicta vulgari malebat, veritatiſque cui efficit adulatio, per probra ſaltem gnarus fieri.* Tac. 6. ann. (8) It is better to hear the rebuke of the wiſe, than for a man to hear the Song of Fools, *Eccl.* 7. 6. (9) And *Samuel* feared to ſhew *Eli* the Viſion, 1 *Sam.* 3. 15. (10) And he ſaid, What is the thing that the Lord hath ſaid unto thee? I pray thee hide it not from me, *Ibid.*

Let a Prince ſometimes view himſelf in the glaſs of the people, in which the leaſt ſpot immediately appears, for the Mob can't diſſemble. *Lewis* the Fourth of *France*, would, diſguis'd, mix himſelf with the Crowd, and hear what they ſaid of his Actions and Government. He that would find Truth, muſt ſeek her in the Streets. *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France* us'd to complain, that he wanted one piece of Furniture in his Palace, which was Truth. Which is too modeſt and plain to live in Courts, being confounded in the preſence of Kings. For this reaſon *Saul* diſguiſed himſelf when he went to conſult the Witch of *Endor*, that ſhe might anſwer him with more freedom; and he did this himſelf without truſting to another (11). *Jeroboam* alſo obſerv'd the ſame method, when he ſent his Wife to *Abijah* to enquire about their ſick Child. He commanded her to diſguiſe her ſelf, that he might not know her, leaſt if he ſhould, he might either give her no anſwer at all, or not tell her truth (12). Since then Truth is not to be found in the Palaces of Princes, ſhe muſt be trac'd out elſe-where; 'tis *the honour of a King to ſearch out a matter* (13). King *Philip* the Second had a Favourite, whom he lov'd extremely, who us'd to inform him of whatever was ſaid of him as well within as without the Court. 'Tis obſervable, that though the diſcourſes of the people in the abſence of the Prince, be true, yet when they come to his ears they are ſo ſoftned, and gilded with Flattery, that they rather encourage, and blindly make him purſue his Vices, perſwading him that his actions are highly approv'd by all. No Government was more tyrannical than that of *Tiberius*; no Favourite more hated than *Sejanus*; yet when they were at *Caprea*, the Senate earneſtly begg'd, that they would pleaſe to let them ſee them (14). *Nero* was ſo miſerably deceiv'd by the Flattery of the people, that he believ'd they could not bear his abſence from *Rome*, though for never ſo ſmall a time, and that his preſence comforted them

(11) And *Saul* diſguiſed himſelf, and put on other raiment, and he went, 1 *Sam.* 28 8. (12) 1 Kings 14. 2. (13) Prov. 25. 2. (14) *Crebriſque precibus efflagitabant, viſendi ſui copiam facerent.* Tac. 4. ann.

in

in their Adverſity (15); though he was really ſo odious, that the Senate and Nobility were in doubt, whether he was more cruel in his Abſence than his Preſence (16).

There are other ways to know Flattery, but few Princes care to make uſe of them, it being ſo agreeable to their inclinations and nature; and ſo we ſee Coiners puniſh'd, but not Flatterers, though the laſt are moſt guilty; theſe gild and counterfeit our Money, thoſe our Vices, putting them off even to our ſelves for Vertues. This is a great fault, which is ſtill decry'd, yet ſtill maintain'd in the Courts of Princes; where Truth appears not without danger, eſpecially with haughty and paſſionate Princes (17). *Bernardo de Cabrera* loſt his life for his friendly advice in ſome affairs to *Peter* the IVth of *Arragon*, notwithſtanding his ſignal Services, and his having been his Tutor. He who adviſes or informs another, ſeems to accuſe his Actions and Judgment, which Princes won't endure; for they think he don't ſufficiently reſpect them, who talks to them freely. *Gutierrez Fernandez* of *Toledo* with an honeſt and well-meaning Sincerity, told King *Peter* the Cruel, what he thought of his Government, and adviſ'd him to moderate his Severity; which meritorious Advice the King took for ſuch a crime, that he cauſ'd him to be beheaded for it *. A Prince looks upon him as his Judge, who obſerves his Actions, nor can he endure him who finds fault with them. The danger is in admoniſhing a Prince what he ſhould do, not what he would do (18); which is the reaſon Truth is ſo timorous, and Flattery ſo audacious. But if any Prince would be ſo generous, as to think it baſe and mean to be coax'd by Flattery, and look upon it as a contempt for others to pretend to impoſe upon him, by falſe praiſes, and ſpeak more of his Grandure than his Per-

(15) *Vidiſſe civium mœſtos vultus, audire ſecretas querimonias, quod tantum adituru eſſet iter, cujus ne medicos quidem egreſſus tolerarent, juſti adverſum fortuita aſpectu Principis refoveri.* (16) *Senatus & Primates in incerto erant, procul, an curam atrocior haberetur.* Tac. 15. ann. (17) *Contumacius loqui non eſt tutum apud aures ſuperbas, & offenſioni promiores.* Tac. 4. ann. * Mar. hiſt. Hiſp. (18) *Nam ſuadere Principi quod oporteat, multi laboris, & periculi.* Tac. 1. hiſt.

ſon (19), he would ſoon be rid of this ſort of cattle by arming himſelf with ſeverity; for none will dare attempt a ſtanch and ſevere Prince, who fathoms the truth of things, and has learnt to contemn vain Honours. *Tiberius* with the ſame compoſure of countenance, heard the freedom of *Piſo*, and the Flattery of *Gallus* (20). And though he diſſembled ſo well, he knew the Flattery, as he did that of *Ateius Capito*, conſidering their Thoughts, not their Words (21). Let a Prince alſo publickly gratifie thoſe who ſhall be ſo ingenuous as to tell him Truth. Thus *Cliſthenes* the Tyrant of *Sicily* did, who erected a Statue to one of his Counſellors, who contradicted his Triumph, by which he wonderfully gain'd the hearts of his Subjects, and encouraged his other Counſellors to ſpeak their Sentiments more freely. King *Alphonſo* the Twelfth, being once adviſing about an affair of great moment, with his Sword in his right hand, and his Sceptre in his left, ſpoke to this effect: *Come*, ſays he, *ſpeak all your minds freely, and frankly adviſe me what you think for the glory of this Sword, and the advantage of this Scepter* *. Happy that Kingdom, in which Counſel is neither embarraſs'd by Reſpect, nor aw'd by Fear! All men know the baſeneſs of Flattery, but they know too the inconveniencies of Truth, and ſee more danger from this than that. Who would not ſpeak with more ſincerity and zeal to Princes, were they all of the ſame temper with *John* the Second King of *Portugal*, who when one petition'd for ſome vacant Office, reply'd, That he had long ſince promis'd it to a faithfull Servant, who never ſpoke to pleaſe, but to ſerve him and the State †. But this generous Sincerity is very rarely to be found; Princes being uſually of King *Achab*'s mind, who calling a council of Prophets, would have *Micah* excluded, becauſe, ſays he, *he doth not prophecy good concerning me, but evil* (22). For this reaſon, Miniſters often run great Riſques, who through zeal are too forward in telling their Thoughts

(19) *Etiam ego & tu ſimpliciſſimè inter nos hodie loquimur, cæteri liberius cum fortunâ noſtrâ quam nobiſcum.* Tac. 1. hiſt. (20) *Audiente hæc Tiberio, ac ſilente.* Tac. 2. ann. (21) *Intellexit hæc Tiberius, ut erant magis, quam ut dicebantur.* Tac. 3. ann. * Mar. hiſt. Hiſp. † Mar. hiſt. Hiſp. (22) 1 Kings 22. 8.

of

of future dangers, that they may be ſeaſonably prevented. For Princes had rather not know them than fear them; their ears are prepar'd for the ſoft Harmony of Muſick, but can't bear the jarring ſounds of impending dangers. Whence they choſe for their Counſellors and Confidents, ſuch as will tell them nothing but what they approve of (23), and not what God inſpires as the Prophet *Micah* did (24). What wonder then, if without the light of Truth they loſe their way and are loſt?

Would theſe Tell-truths be guided by Prudence, doubtleſs a Prince would more value Truth, than vain and empty Flattery; but there are few who uſe it ſeaſonably, or with that Modeſty and Addreſs that is requiſite. For all that are free are moroſe, and offend Princes with the aſperity of their Looks, eſpecially when arm'd with Truth; for ſome Vertues are odious, ſuch as obſtinate Severity, and a Spirit not to be gain'd by favours. For Princes think themſelves ſlighted, when they ſee thoſe meaſures, which are uſually taken to obtain their favour are contemn'd, thinking he who does not ſtudy to acquire them, neither acknowledges himſelf their Subject, nor has occaſion for them. The Superiour uſes the Lancet or inciſion Knife of Truth, to cure the diſtempers of the inferiour, but this only a cauſtick, which without pain benumbs, and wears away the parts infected in the Superiour. To be troubleſome with unſeaſonable and improper Truths, is rather Malice than Zeal, rather Saucineſs that Admonition. God himſelf uſes ſingular Prudence and Caution in revealing them; for though he might have told *Pharaoh* and *Nebuchadnezzar* their future Calamities by *Joſeph* and *Daniel*; yet he choſe rather to do it by Dream, when the Senſes were lull'd and Majeſty buried in Sleep, and even then not clearly, but by Figures and Hieroglyphicks, that there might be ſome time allow'd for their Interpretation, to avoid ſudden Terrour and Conſternation, as alſo the danger of the Miniſters,

(23) After their own Luſts they ſhall heap to themſelves teachers, 2 *Tim.* 4. 3. (24) And *Micah* ſaid, as the Lord liveth, even what my God ſaith, that will I ſpeak, 2 *Chron.* 18. 13.

ſhould

ſhould they unask'd declare ſuch things (25). 'Tis ſufficient, if the Miniſter can make the Prince underſtand them; which if he can effect by ſigns, let him not uſe words. Yet are there ſome ſo imprudent, that they glory in bold Truths, and are fond to be the bearers, nay ſometimes the inventers of ill News. Let theſe learn of what befell King *Balſhazzar*, to whom the hand that pronounc'd his death upon the Wall, was not wholly viſible, but only the fingers appear'd, and but the ends of them neither; ſo that it could not in the leaſt be diſcover'd, who guided them; nor this by day light but by night, writing that decretory Sentence by Candle-light, upon the Wall in ſuch Characters, as required ſome time to be underſtood. While therefore the intention is good, and accompanied by Prudence, 'twill be eaſie to walk a ſecure and middle path, between the Slavery of Flattery and the Arrogance of Truth; for all Truths may be ſpoken, provided it be with diſcretion, by propoſing only the amendment of thoſe to whom they are directed. Thus the diſcretion and addreſs of *Agricola* mollified the ſtern humour of *Domitian* (27). He who with his Services and Modeſty mingles Valour and Induſtry, may live ſafe under the worſt of Princes (28); and gain more Reputation, than thoſe, who by being too ambitious of Glory, do fooliſhly ruin themſelves, without any advantage to the State; by this circumſpection *M. Lepidus* turn'd to his advantage many dangerous Flatteries, and preſerv'd the favour of *Tiberius* (29). *Thraſea Pætus*'s going out of the Senate, to avoid being preſent at the Votes, which to flatter *Tiberius*, they were making againſt the Memory of *Agrippina*, was pernicious to the Senate, and dangerous to himſelf, without giving any foundation to the peoples Liberty, as he propoſed (30).

(25) Gen. 41. 22. & Dan. 4 2. (27) *Moderatione tamen prudentiâque Agricola leniebatur, quia non contumaciâ, neque inani jactatione libertatis famam, fatumque provocabat.* Tac. in vit. Agric. (28) *Poſſe etiam ſub malis Principibus magnos viros eſſe.* Tac in vit. Agric. (29) *Nam pleraque ab ſævis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit: neque tamen temperamenti egebat, cum æquabili authoritate, & gratiâ apud Tiberium vigueret.* Tac. 4. ann. (30) *Thraſea Pætus ſilentio vel brevi aſſenſu priores adulationes tranſmittere ſolitus, exiit, tum Senatu, ac ſibi cauſam periculi fecit, cæteris libertatis initium non præbuit.* Tac. 14. ann.

Truth

Truth is yet more dangerous in thoſe, who avoiding Flattery, to ſeem free and plain, carp at the actions and failures of Princes, with ſharp Jeſts, which ſtick long by the great ones, eſpecially where they are grounded upon Truth (31): As *Veſtinus* found by *Nero*, who put him to death for reprehending his Vices with too much freedom (32). To ſpeak Truth only to publiſh the faults of the Government, is a kind of freedom which looks like Advice, but is Reflection; it appears Zeal but is Malice. And this I look upon as not leſs pernicious than Flattery it ſelf. For if one be an odious Slavery, the other is a falſe kind of Liberty. Hence the wiſeſt Princes dread freedom as much as Flattery, neither being ſafe, and therefore the extremes of both are to be avoided; which was obſerv'd in the time of *Tiberius* (33) Yet 'tis certain, there ought to be ſome allowance for Flattery, thereby to introduce Truth; for not to flatter in ſomethings, is to accuſe in every thing; and in a corrupt Government, there is as much to be fear'd from too much as too little Flattery (34). The State would be in a deſperate condition, and the Prince inhuman and barbarous, if neither Truth nor Flattery durſt approach him. He would be like an Adder, if he ſhould be deaf to that Flattery which would perſuade him to what is glorious and honourable (35). With ſuch as theſe God threatned the people of *Jeruſalem* by the Prophet *Jeremiah*; *I will ſend Serpents among you, Cockatrices which will not be charm'd, and they ſhall bite you* (36). That Mind is wild and ſavage, which a gentle and modeſt Flattery can't ſooth into good Temper, and Compliance with its wholſome Advice. Truth being of it ſelf ſomething bitter, we muſt ſweeten the brim of the Cup, that Princes may drink with more pleaſure: They won't hear it if it be dry, nay are often worſe for it.

(31) *Tiberius acerbis facetiis irridere ſolitus, quarum apud potentes in longum memoria eſt.* Tac. 5. ann. (32) *Sæpe aſperis facetiis illuſus, quæ ubi multum ex vero traxere, acrem ſui memoriam relinquunt.* Tac. 15. ann. (33) *Unde anguſta & lubrica oratio ſub Principe qui libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.* Tac. 2. ann. (34) *Quæ moribus corruptis, perinde anceps, ſi nulla, & ubi nimia eſt.* Tac. 4. ann. (35) Pſal. 37. 6. (36) Jer. 8. 17.

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The more *Tiberius*'s Cruelty was exclaim'd againſt, the more ſevere and bloody he grew (37). 'Tis of uſe ſometimes to commend ſome famous actions in them, as if they had actually done them, that they may be thereby prompted to put them in execution; or to be extravagant in the commendation of Valour or other Vertues, that they may be the more eager to follow them. This enflames the mind more to honour than Flattery. *Theſe means*, ſays *Tacitus*, *the* Roman *Senate us'd to* Nero *in the beginning of his Reign* (38). 'Tis of very ill conſequence to commend Vices under the name of Vertues; for this is encouraging Princes to commit greater. *Nero* ſeeing his Severity taken for Juſtice, became a perfect Tyrant (39). We ill conſult our own Liberty, Fortunes and Lives, in endeavouring to extend the unjuſt power of Princes beyond their due bounds, by adminiſtring them means to ſatisfie their Ambition and Luſts. Scarce any Prince would be bad, were not his Miniſters Flatterers. They gain that favour by publick Miſchief, which they can't merit by their Vertues. Prodigious Villany! For a momentary favour, which they are very often diſappointed of too, or rather ruin'd with, to betray their Country and promote Tyranny! What wonder, if God chaſtiſes Subjects for the faults of Princes, if they are the cauſe of them, while Princes act all by their Miniſters, who teach them ſeveral ways of burthening their Subjects with Taxes, of oppreſſing the Nobility, and turning the Government into Tyranny, by violating Privileges, Laws and Cuſtoms, and ſo are at laſt their own Executioners.

(37) *Cæſar objectam ſibi adverſus res inclementiam, eo pervicacius amplexus eſt.* Tac. 4. ann. (38) *Magnis patrum laudibus, ut juvenilis animus levium quoque rerum gloria ſublatus, majores continuaret.* Tac. 13. ann. (39) *Poſtquam cuncta ſcelerum pro egregiis accipi videt, extulit Octaviam.* Tac. 14. ann.

EMBLEM XLIX.

MANY reaſons make me doubt, whether the chance of birth has any part of the favour or hatred of Princes; or whether our Conduct and Prudence, can, without ambition and peril, find a ſecure path, between a froward Obſtinacy, and a deſpicable Slavery. There ſeems to be a certain occult force, which, if it does not compell, does at leaſt move our Will, and incline it to one more than another: and if in the Senſes and natural Appetites there is a Sympathy and Antipathy to things, why not in the Affections and Paſſions? They may perhaps, have more power and force over the Appetite than the Will, becauſe that is more a Rebell to Free-Will than this, but it can't be deny'd, but that the inclination too is of great force, being generally attended by reaſon, eſpecially when Art and Prudence know how to adapt themſelves to the humour

mour of the Prince. We ſee in all things as well animate as inanimate, a ſecret Correſpondence and Friendſhip, whoſe chains are eaſier broken than parted. Neither the injuries nor adverſities which King *John* the Second ſuffer'd for his affection to *Alvarez de Luna*, nor the apparent danger of the latter, could diſſolve that firm bond of Friendſhip with which their Souls were united. And though this inclination be not natural, yet gratitude for paſt Services, or the extraordinary merits of the Subject uſually produce it. Vertue is of it ſelf amiable, and grateful to the Will. 'Twould be barbarous to oblige a Prince to balance his affections with indifferency to all, for they proceed from the heart by the Eyes and Hands: what ſtanch ſeverity can always reſiſt the charms of favour? How reſerv'd was *Philip* the Second? Yet had he not one but many particular Favourites. God himſelf had ſome whom he peculiarly favour'd, giving them power to ſtop the courſe of the Sun and Moon (1); The Lord obeying the voice of man (2). And why (as King *Peter* obſerv'd) is particular Friendſhip allow'd to private perſons and not to Princes? Many are the troubles of Government, to alleviate which, 'twill be neceſſary to have ſome one near you in whom you can put a more particular Confidence. There are many difficulties in it, which are not to be ſurmounted by one. The burthen of a Crown is too weighty and cumberſome for one to bear, the ſtrongeſt yield to it, and, as *Job* ſays, bend under it. For this reaſon, though God was aſſiſtant to *Moſes*, and ſupply'd him with ability and inſtructions to adminiſter his Office, yet he commanded to make uſe of the elders in the Government of his people, that they might help to bear the burthen (3). And *Jethro* his Father-in-Law, thought the burthen greater than he was able to bear (4). *Alexander* took *Parmeno* to his aſſiſtance;

(1) And he ſaid in the ſight of *Iſrael*, Sun, ſtand thou ſtill upon *Gibeon*; and thou Moon, in the valley of *Ajalon*, *Joſ.* 10. 12. (2) The Lord harkened to the voice of man, for the Lord fought for *Iſrael*, *Ibid.* (3) And they ſhall bear the burthen of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thy ſelf alone, *Numb.* 11. 17. (4) For this thing is too heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it thy ſelf alone, *Exod.* 18. 18.

David,

David, *Joab*; *Solomon*, *Zadock*; *Darius*, *Daniel*; by whoſe directions they ſucceeded in their affairs. No Prince is ſo prudent and diſcreet, as of himſelf to know all things, nor ſo carefull and diligent, as to manage all affairs alone. Which natural impotency oblig'd Princes to erect Courts and Counſels, and to create Preſidents, Governours, and Viceroys, in whom the power and authority of Princes might reſide. *For alone* (ſays King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe) *they can't penetrate and examin all things, but have need of the aſſiſtance of others, in whom they can confide, who ſhould uſe the power which they receive in performing thoſe things which Princes can't do themſelves* †. And if Princes uſe the aſſiſtance of Miniſters abroad, why ſhould he not in the more private affairs of his Cabinet? 'Tis neceſſary he ſhould have ſome one near him, whom he may deliberate with about the Advice and Counſel which is given him. That he may with him compare his own Scruples and Propoſitions, and be by him inſtructed. Whom, in fine, he may ſafely truſt to expedite and execute Affairs (5). Would it not be worſe, if embarraſs'd with ſuch weighty cares, he ſhould communicate himſelf to none? Beſides, 'tis abſolutely neceſſary that the Prince ſhould have ſome aſſiſtant, who, diſengag'd from all other buſineſs, ſhould be as a Mediator between him and his people: Otherwiſe it would be impoſſible for him to hear and ſatisfie all, nor would it ſuit with his Majeſty. For this reaſon, the *Iſraelites* beſought *Moſes* that he would ſpeak to God for them, for they themſelves were afraid of his Preſence (6). And *Abſalom*, that he might render *David* odious to the people, urg'd that he had no Miniſters about him to receive the complaints of the diſtreſſed (7). The Zeal and Prudence of a Favourite may with eaſe rectifie the defects of Government, and the inclinations of Prin-

† L. 3. tit. 1. p. 2. (5) *Solatium curarum frequenter ſibi adhibent maturi Reges, & hinc meliores æſtimantur, ſi ſoli omnia non præſumunt.* Caſſiod lib 8. epiſt. 9. (6) Exod. 20. 19. (7) Thy matters are good and right, but there is no man deputed of the King to hear thee, 2 *Sam.* 15. 3.

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ces (8). *Agricola* by his prudent addreſs, reclaim'd *Domitian*, and though *Sejanus* was bad, *Tiberius* was worſe, when without him he follow'd his own inclinations (9). And truly by ſuch Favourites God often ſaves a whole Kingdom, as he did *Syria* by *Naaman*, and *Ægypt* by *Joſeph* (10). Since then 'tis neceſſary that the weight of Government ſhould be divided; 'tis natural in the choice of ſuch an aſſiſtant to be guided in ſome meaſure by inclination, or ſome ſecret Sympathy in the perſons of each; which choice, if it be founded upon deſert, can be no ways dangerous; nay, 'tis requiſite that the humour of the party whom the Prince takes to aſſiſt him, ſhould be choſen to him The queſtion is. Whether one or many ſhould be choſen to this Office; if many equally favour'd and reſpected, Emulation will ariſe, and their Counſels will thwart one another to the detriment of the State. So that it ſeems more agreeable to natural order, that affairs ſhould be committed to one alone, who ſhould ſuperviſe the reſt, and by whom affairs ſhould come digeſted and methodized to the Prince, who ſhould only ſubſtitute him to his cares and trouble, not his power and authority, in his Counſels not his Rewards. The Sun alone imparts Light to the whole world, and when he ſets, he leaves not many but only one Vicegerent, the Moon, with a Luſtre much greater than that of the other Stars, who ſeem but as ſo many inferiour Miniſters to aſſiſt her. Yet neither this nor thoſe ſhine with their own, but borrow'd Light, which the Earth acknowledges receiv'd from the Sun. Nor does this favour misbecome Majeſty, when a Prince devolves part of the burden of Affairs upon his Favourite, ſo as to preſerve the ſovereign power and authority to himſelf: for this is not favour but imployment, not ſo much an obligation, as a communication of trouble; nor is this ſo much to be envied, if Princes would be ſo prudent, as to give it another

(8) *Qui in regiæ familiaritatis ſacrarium admittuntur multa facere poſſunt, & dicere, quibus pauperum neceſſitas ſublevetur, faveatur religiõi, fiat æquitas, Eccleſia dilatetur.* Petr. Blif. Epiſt. 150. (9) *Obtectis libidinibus, dum Sejanum dilexit, timuitve: poſtremò in ſcelera ſimul ac dedecora prorupit, poſtquam remoto pudore, & metu, ſua tantum ingenio utebatur.* Tac. 6. ann. (10) 2 Kings 5. 1.

name;

name; as Preſident of the Council, or Chancellour; as the Magiſtrates call'd *Præfecti* at *Rome*, incurr'd no Envy, though they were ſecond *Cæſars*.

The felicity of Subjects conſiſts not in the Prince's being like a loadſtone, attractive of Iron and not of Gold, but in his knowledge in chuſing ſuch a Miniſter as will attribute whatever is great and commendable to him; and take all the Reflections and Odium of the people upon himſelf; one whoſe mind is wholly bent upon the publick good; who manages affairs without Ambition; hears without Diſdain and debates without Paſſion; whoſe Reſolves and Determinations have no reſpect to ſelf-intereſt. In a word, whoſe whole aim is the ſervice and advantage of his Country, not himſelf, or the preſervation of his Maſter's favour. By this rule one may know whether this Familiarity proceed from pure Zeal or Tyranny. Princes ought to take great care in the choice of ſuch a Miniſter, endeavouring not to be byaſs'd by Affection or fanſifull Inclination, but by rare and excellent Qualifications and Merits, for ſometimes ſuch Friendſhip is not the reſult of deliberation but accident; it is not favour but diligence: Courts uſually erect and adore ſome Idol which they deify, and treat with Royal Splendor and Magnificence; they worſhip it upon their Knees, burn Tapers, and offer Incenſe to it, imploring its aſſiſtance with Prayers and Vows (11) As induſtry can change the courſe of Rivers, and turn them another way; ſo it often happens that thoſe who have buſineſs at Court, not regarding the Prince, the true channel of affairs, apply themſelves to the Favourite, whoſe arts do, by this, ſo ſecure the Prince's favour, that he can never diſengage himſelf from it. No Prince was more cautious, none more free than *Tiberius*, yet was he ſubject to his Favourite *Sejanus* (12). In which caſe 'tis difficult to ſay, whether ſuch favour be human choice, or ſome ſuperiour power, for the greater good or

(11) And ſo the multitude, allured by the grace of the work, took him now for a God, which a little before was but honoured as a man, *Wiſd* 14. 20. (12) *Tiberium variis artibus devinxit, adeo ut obſcurum adverſus alios, ſibi uni incautum, inteſtumque efficeret.*

ill of the Commonwealth: The Holy Spirit ſays, 'tis a particular judgment of God (13). *Tacitus* attributes the favour and fall of *Sejanus* to the anger of the Gods for the ruin of the Empire (14). A misfortune ſcarce avoidable, when this favour falls upon a perſon of great quality, as it uſually does in Courts where the chief of the Nobility are Miniſters. For he who is once poſſeſs'd of it, will, by the preheminence of his Birth and Grandure of his Family endeavour what he can to preſerve it, nor will he eaſily ſuffer himſelf to be ſupplanted by any one. As was ſeen in *John Alphonſo Robles*, in the time of King *John* the Second †. The heart of a Prince is never ſafe in the power of a Subject, whoſe Nobility and Authority make him too much reſpected by others. Though this inconveniency is leſſen'd, when this favour falls upon ſome great man who is truly zealous and intent upon his Prince's Service, and the honour and welfare of his Country, for then the people's Envy and Odium will not be ſo great, and the orders which are diſpatch'd through the hands of ſuch a one will be the more readily obſerv'd; yet 'tis always highly neceſſary, if a Prince could balance his favour between his own Authority and the Merits of his Favourite, to commit only that part of the adminiſtration to him, which he cannot manage himſelf; for ſhould he commit it wholly to him, he would experience the ſame misfortunes with King *Ahaſuerus*, when he entruſted *Haman* with the Government of his people (15). Let him not give by another's hand what he can diſpoſe of with his own; nor borrow others Eyes, when he can ſee with his own. As to what is done in Courts of Juſtice and Councils, let him afterwards conſult the Preſidents and Secretaries, from whoſe relations he may receive a juſt account of the affairs therein tranſacted; and his Reſolutions will be more conciſe and ready, when he confers with thoſe by whom the affairs have been managed. This method the Popes and Emperors uſe, as did alſo the Kings of *Spain* till

(13) Prov. 29. 26. (14) *Non tam ſolertia (quippe iiſdem artibus vigilat eſt) quam deûm ira in rem Romanam, cujus pari exitio viguit ceciditque.* Tac. 4. ann. † Mar. hiſt. Hiſp. lib. 20. l. 25. (15) Eſth. 3. 11.

Philip

Philip the Second, who being an excellent Pen-man, introduc'd the cuſtom of taking debates and conſultations in writing, which afterwards prevailing, gave riſe to private favour: for the Kings being embaraſs'd with ſuch a vaſt number of writings were oblig'd to communicate them to ſome one, and this muſt of neceſſity be a Favourite. On ſuch a one let a Prince beſtow more peculiar marks of favour and benevolence. For he who merits his favour and ſhares his trouble, ought to have Pre-eminence above others. The ſhadow of St. *Peter* worked Miracles (16). What wonder then, if a Prince's Favourite, who is but his ſhadow, acts with more Authority than others? Nevertheleſs, ſome favours ſhould be reſerv'd for others; nor ſhould thoſe other be ſo great, as to exceed the condition of a Subject, and make him equal to the Prince, ſo as to have Court made to him as Co-partner in the Empire, and to draw the whole body of affairs after him, which derogates much from the Authority and Eſteem of the Prince. A Favourite ſhould act as the ſhadow not the Subſtance. In this the Kings of *Caſtile*, who, in times paſt, had Favourites, run great Riſques; for as the power of the Kings being then not ſo large, how little ſoever they granted, it endanger'd the whole Kingdom; as it befell King *Sancho* the Strong, for his favour to *Lopez de Hara*; King *Alphonſo* the Eleventh, for his to Count *Alvaro Oſorio*; King *John* the Second, and King *Henry* the Fourth, for theirs to *Alvaro de Luna*, and *John Pacheco*. The whole point of Favouritiſm conſiſts in the Prince's knowing how much he ought to allow his Favourite, and he how much he ought to receive from his Prince. Whatever exceeds this rule, creates (as we ſhall mention anon) Jealouſie, Envy and Danger (17).

(16) Acts 5. 15. (17) *Sed utrique menſuram implevimus & tu quantum princeps tribuere amico poſſet, & ego quantum amicus à principe accipere: cætera invidiam augent.* Tac. 14. ann.

EMBLEM L.

THE Mountain looks down with diſdain upon the other works of Nature, and proudly riſes above them, ſo as to have communication with the Skies. Let not the Vallies envy it this Glory, for though it be nearer the favours of Heaven, 'tis alſo more expos'd to the ſtrokes of its Thunder too. About its head Clouds gather, and Storms prepare their rage, and upon it they firſt exert it. 'Tis the ſame in Offices and Imployments more immediately under Princes. The Activity of their power is moſt offenſive to thoſe who are neareſt it. Their Converſation is as venomous as that of a Viper (1). Whoever walks among them, walks among Snares, and the Arms of his offended Enemies (2). The favour and diſdain of Princes are ſo im-

(1) Eccleſ. 9. 13. (2) Ibid.

mediate

mediate, that nothing intervenes. Their Love knows no Moderation; when turn'd to Hatred, it leaps from one extreme to th'other, from Fire to Froſt. The ſame inſtant ſees them love and hate, with the effects of Thunder, which while the noiſe is heard, or the flaſh ſeen, reduces the bodies to Aſhes. The favour of Princes is like flame, extinguiſh'd with the ſame eaſe 'twas lighted. Nay ſome have thought it abſolutely fatal to thoſe on whom it falls (3). And many examples as well paſt as preſent, are ſufficient evidences of it; we have freſh inſtances of the ſudden falls of the moſt exalted Favourites. The Duke of *Lerma* in *Spain*; the Marſhal *D'Ancre* in *France*; The Duke of *Buckingham* in *England*; *John Olden Barnvelt* in *Holland*; Cardinal *Cleſel* in *Germany*; at *Rome* Cardinal *Nazaret*; yet may this be aſcrib'd to divers cauſes, either becauſe the Prince having given all that he could, or the Favourite obtain'd all he deſir'd, he was mounted to the higheſt ſtep, and ſo muſt of neceſſity deſcend (4). But ſuppoſe there be moderation in the favours of the one, and the ambition of the other; yet what conſtancy can there be in the minds of Princes, which the more vehement they are, are the more ſubject to variety and contradiction? who can fix the affections of him whoſe Senſes ſee double, and is like the firſt matter, not reſting in one form, but pleas'd with variety. Who can preſerve that favour which is liable to ſo many chances and turns of Humour? Who can behave himſelf with ſo nice integrity, as to maintain the Prince's good opinion of him with the people? The Eyes of all are upon the Favourite, The Prince's Friends think him an Uſurper of their Rewards, his Enemies that he incenſes the Prince farther againſt them. Theſe, if they return to their duty, muſt make the diſgrace of the Favourite one of the conditions; thoſe if they forſake it, lay all the blame upon him. Ambition and Envy are always in Arms, intent upon every occaſion to ruin him. The people are ſo imbitter'd againſt him, that they impute

(1) *Fato potentiæ vana ſempiterna.* Tac. 3. ann. (4) *An ſatius capiti, ut illis cum omnia tribuerunt; Aut hoc, cum jam nihil reliquum eſt quod capiant?* Tac. 3. ann.

even natural misfortunes, and the Prince's Vices, all to him. *Bernardo de Cabrera* loſt his head for the Tyrannies of *Peter* the Fourth, King of *Arragon*, whoſe Favourite he was. By the ſame means that a perſon endeavours to gain the favour of the Prince, he incurs the Odium of the Subjects; ſo that it was truly ſaid by that great Man, *Alphonſo de Albuquerque*, Governour of the *Eaſt-Indies*, that a Miniſter in obliging his Prince, offended the People: and if he endeavour to gratifie the People, he diſobliges the Prince.

If this favour be only founded upon exteriour Adoration, fomented by Court-Artifices, 'tis violent and momentary, and the Prince will endeavour to free himſelf from this impos'd involuntary Slavery.

If it proceed from a natural propenſity of the Mind, 'tis very ſubject to ſecond Cauſes, and is effac'd by time or the ingratitude of the Subject, when he forgets from whence he took his riſe (5).

If a perſon's Meip and Carriage do, as it were, raviſh the Prince's favour, it either ſoon fades, or is only ſuperficial, as in common Friendſhip.

If it be from ſome qualifications of Mind greater than thoſe of the Prince, when-ever he knows it, there's an end of his favour, for none can endure in another Pre-eminency in Wit or Valour, which is uſually eſteem'd above Power and Authority.

If it be from aſſiduity and care in buſineſs, diligence is not leſs dangerous than negligence; for ſucceſs does not always correſpond to means, becauſe of the diverſity of accidents; and Princes will be diſappointed in nothing that they wiſh and deſire. Succeſs is attributed to chance, or to the fortune of the Prince, and not to the prudence of the Favourite (6), but miſcarriages to him alone, though the fault be anothers, for all are willing to father Succeſs, but Misfortunes are laid at another's door (7), that is to the Favourite. Even Caſualties are imputed to him, as the falling of

(5) Wiſd. 15. 11. (6) *Hæc eſt conditio Regum, ut caſus tantum adverſos hominibus tribuant, ſecundos fortunæ ſuæ.* Æmil. Prob (7) *Proſpera omnes ſibi vendicant, adverſa uni imputantur.* Tac. in vit. Agric.

the

the Amphitheatre, and the burning of Mount *Celius* were to *Sejanus* (8). Nor do they only accuſe him in affairs of his own management, but alſo in thoſe of others, or in thoſe accidents that depend upon the Prince's Will and Nature. Thus *Seneca* was blam'd for that *Nero* would have drown'd his Mother (9). Men cannot imagin a wickedneſs ſo ſtrange as was not believ'd of *Sejanus* (10). There is no natural death, of a great Miniſter or Relation of the Prince, but is immediately reflected upon the Favourite. As was that of Prince *Philip Emanuel*, Son to *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*, to the Duke of *Lerma*.

If this favour proceeds from Obligation, and from ſignal Services perform'd, the Prince will by degrees grow weary of the burthen, and his Love will turn into Hate, becauſe he looks upon him as a Creditor, and being unable to pay him, he ſeeks pretences to break with him, and ſo ſtrike off the Debt (11). Acknowledgment is a kind of Slavery. For he who obliges another, makes himſelf his ſuperiour, which is inconſiſtent with the Sovereignty of a Prince, whoſe power is diminiſhed, if it be not greater than the obligation: and Princes being oppreſs'd with the weight of Gratitude and Obligation, become notoriouſly ungratefull, that they may diſcharge themſelves from them (12). The Emperour *Adrian* put *Titian* to death, who had been his Tutor from a Boy, and to whom he ow'd his Empire: Not to mention that the fatigues of many years are effac'd by one overſight; Princes being more apt to puniſh a ſlight offence, than to reward ſignal Services. If they are honourable, they create Emulation and Envy in the Prince himſelf, for whoſe Ser-

(8) *Feralemque annum ferebant, & omnibus adverſis ſuſceptum Principi conſilium abſentia, qui mos vulgò ad culpam fortuita trahentes.* Tac. 4. ann. (9) *Ergo non jam Nero cujus immanitas omnium queſtu anteibat, ſed adverſo rumore, Seneca erat, quod oratione tali confeſſionem ſcripſiſſet.* Tac. 14. ann. (10) *Sed quia Sejanus facinorum omnium reperta habebatur, ex nimia charitate in eum Cæſaris, & caterorum in utrumque odio quamvis fabuloſa & immania credebantur.* Tac 4. ann. (11) *Nam beneficia eo uſque læta ſunt dum videntur exſolvi poſſe; ubi multum antevenêre, pro gratia odium redditur.* Ibid. (12) *Quidam quo plus debent, magis oderunt. Leve æs alienum debitorem facit, grave inimicum.* Sen. Ep. 19.

vice they are perform'd, for ſome are more angry with thoſe who have ſerv'd them ſucceſsfully and gloriouſly, than with thoſe who have been more remiſs and leſs ſucceſsfull, of this humour was *Philip* of *Macedon* (13); a Vice which his Son *Alexander* inherited (14); and was viſible in *James* the Firſt of *Arragon*, who when *Don Blaſco de Alagon* had taken *Morella*, he thought he had gotten more Glory than he in that Expedition, and therefore took from him that City, and gave him in exchange that of *Sagaſto*. The Victories of *Agricola* made *Domitian* jealous, ſeeing that the fame of a private man exceeded his (15). So that in the moſt glorious and ſucceſsfull Exploits there is the greateſt danger.

If favour ſprings from the prompt obedience of the Favourite to the Will of the Prince, it makes the Government incur the above-mention'd inconveniencies of Flattery, and ſoon ruins both the Prince and Favourite; Obedience is as dangerous as diſobedience; for if the command ſucceeds, 'tis aſcrib'd to the Prince, if not, to the Favourite. If this command be not obey'd, 'tis then the reaſon why it ſucceeded not. If it be unjuſt, he dares not make that his excuſe, leſt he offend the Prince; if he obey, the fault is all laid upon him; and the Prince, that he mayn't ſeem the Author of the miſchief, permits him to ſuffer either in the opinion of the People; or in the hands of the Judge. Thus *Tiberius* ſerv'd *Piſo* after he had by his command poiſon'd *Germanicus*, whoſe cauſe he referr'd to the Senate (16); and coming to *Rome*, he behav'd himſelf as if he knew nothing of the matter, leaving him confounded to ſee him ſo unconcern'd and reſerv'd, without either pity or anger (17).

(13) *Quem ita gloriæ cupidum eſſe dicunt familiares, ut omnia clara facinora ſua eſſe videri cupit, & magis indignatur Ducibus & Præfectis, qui proſpere, & laudabiliter aliquid geſſerint, quam iis qui infeliciter & ignave.* Demoſt. (14) *Sua demptum gloriæ exiſtimans quicquid ceſſiſſet alteri.* Curt. (15) *Id ſibi maxime formidoloſum, privati hominis nomen ſupra Principis attolli.* Tac. in vit. Agric. (16) *Integram cauſam ad Senatum remiſit.* Tac. 6. ann. (17) *Nullo magis exterritus eſt, quam quod Tiberium ſine miſeratione, ſine ira obſtinatum, clauſumque vidit, ne quo affectu perrumperetur.* Tac. 3. ann.

If

If this favour falls upon a man of ſmall Qualifications and Merit, he will ſink under the weight of affairs; for without a brave and vigorous mind, without a quick and piercing Wit, the favour of Princes cannot be long maintain'd.

If it proceeds from a reſemblance and conformity of Vertues, when the Prince bids adieu to them the other is at an end. For he will hate the Favourite, as one who accuſes his change (18), and whom he can't make uſe of in the proſecution of his Vices.

If a Prince loves a Favourite, for that he makes uſe of him as an inſtrument to execute his vicious deſigns and inclinations with; what-ever ills do thence ariſe, either to the King's Perſon, or to the Government, all fall upon him; and the Prince with eaſe clears himſelf by diſgracing him; or elſe hates him as a witneſs of his Vices, whoſe preſence does, as it were, upbraid him with his crimes. For the ſame reaſon *Nero* diſgrac'd *Anicetus* the Murtherer of *Agrippina* (19); ſo *Tiberius* diſcharg'd thoſe Miniſters who had aſſiſted his Cruelty, and made uſe of others (20). The Odium of the Death, and the favour of him who commands it, end both with the execution, and the Prince thinks he ſufficiently clears himſelf in puniſhing the crime, as *Plancina* found (21).

If this favour proceed from the communication of important Secrets, he is in danger from them, for they are Vipers in the breaſt of the Favourite, which gnaw his Entrails till they eat their way out, for either levity or ambition of ſeeming a man in favour, reveals them, or they are diſcover'd by another, or by diſcourſe, which are equally pernicious to the Favourite. But though this ſhould not happen, the Prince will be willing to free himſelf from the care of having entruſted them, by tearing open the bag in

(18) Wiſd 2. 15. (19) *Levi poſt admiſſum ſcelus gratia, dein graviore odio, quia malorum factorum miniſtri quaſi exprobrantes aſpiciuntur.* Tac. 14. ann. (20) *Qui ſcelerum miniſtros ut perverti ab aliis nolebat, ita plerumque ſatiatus, & oblatis in eandem operam recentibus, veteres & pregraves adſciv.it.* Tac. 4 ann. (21) *Ut odium & gratia deſierit, jus voluit.* Tac. 6. ann.

which

which they are hid: as many Secrets ſo many dangers (22).

Nor is the danger leſs, if this favour proceeds from the Favourites being conſcious of the Prince's Cowardice and Baſeneſs; for ſuch favour is rather fear than inclination, nor will a Prince indure, that his honour ſhould depend upon another's ſilence, or that there ſhould be one who inwardly ſhould deſpiſe him.

If this favour be but ſmall, it can't reſiſt the fury of Envy, but is blown down by every blaſt, like a tree not firmly rooted.

If it be great, it creates Envy and Fear in the Prince himſelf, and ſo makes him careſull to free himſelf from it; as when we have pil'd Stones upon Stones, we at laſt fear leſt the heap which we have rais'd, ſhould fall upon our own heads, and ſo puſh them over th'other way. The Prince ſees the Statue which he erected ſhades his own Grandure, and ſo pulls it down again. I may venture to ſay, that Princes ſeem to delight to ſhew their power, as well in pulling down thoſe images as in erecting them; for their power being limited, can't ſeem immenſe, unleſs it return to the center from which it proceeded, or keep in a circle.

Theſe are the rocks againſt which, if the ſhip of favour ſtrike, 'tis loſt, ſo much the ſurer, by how much the more ſail it makes. But if any one ſcape, 'tis either becauſe it recover'd port in time, or that it ran firſt upon the ſhore of Eternity. Is there then any Pilot ſo skilfull as to know how to manage the helm of favour, and to ſail in ſo very dangerous a Gulf? What prudence, what art can ſave him? What Chymiſt can fix this Mercury of Princes Affections? eſpecially, when favour founded upon eminent merit can't reſiſt Envy and the Machinations of ſo many as conſpire its ruin. Neither the Kings *Darius* nor *Achis* could defend their favour to *Daniel* and *David*, againſt the hatred of the Princes and Guards (23); but were forc'd for their ſatisfaction, to baniſh one, and throw the other into a Den of Lions, though they were well aſſured of their In-

(22) Iſa. 24. 16, *vid. lat. verſ.* (23) Dan. 6 4.

tegrity

tegrity and Innocence (24). Though no prudence nor attention be ſufficient to prevent thoſe accidents which depend not upon the Favourite, yet may he do much in things which depend upon him, and at leaſt will be unblameable if he fall into diſgrace. Which conſideration oblig'd me here to mark out to him the uſual cauſes of his ruin, ariſing from his own imprudence and the malice of others, that being forewarn'd he may avoid them. If we would attentively conſider the Maxims and Actions of former Favourites, and eſpecially of *Sejanus*, we ſhall find, that moſt of them fell, becauſe they could not continue thoſe good methods by which they at firſt obtain'd the Prince's favour. All to merit it, and gain the applauſe of the people, enter into favour zealous, humble, courteous, and officious, giving counſel for the Glory of the Prince, and Preſervation of his Grandure, the method by which *Sejanus* ingratiated himſelf (25), but being once maſters of this favour, they looſe the Helm which before guided them, and believe they have no more occaſion for it in their Voyage, but can ſail ſecurely with the gale of the Prince's favour.

At firſt they are diligent to appear wholly diſengag'd from their own affairs, and only intent upon the Prince's intereſt, preferring his ſervice even to their own Lives and Fortunes; whence the Prince, perſuaded that he has got in this perſon a faithful aſſociate in his labours, loves him and extolls him every-where; as *Tiberius* did *Sejanus* to the Senate and People (26).

They endeavour farther by ſome generous and heroick action to prove their fidelity to the Prince and win his heart. Thus *Sejanus* ingratiated himſelf with *Tiberius*, by ſuſtaining with his own hands and head, the weight of a Precipice which would elſe have fallen upon *Tiberius*, cauſing him thereby to put more confidence in his Friendſhip and Conſtancy (27).

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(24) 1 Sam. 20. 6. (25) *Quia Sejanus, incipiente adhuc potentia, bonis conſiliis uteſcere volebat.* Tac. 4. ann. (26) *Ut ſocium laborum non modo in ſermonibus, ſed apud patres & populum celebraret.* Tac 4. ann. (27) *Præbuitque ipſi materiam, cur amicitiæ, conſtantiaque Sejani magis fideret.* Ibid.

Which

Which good opinion of a Favourites fidelity, if a Prince once imbibes, he eaſily fancies himſelf ſecure of it for the future, and willingly takes his advice though never ſo pernicious, putting more confidence in him than in himſelf; as *Tiberius* did after that action (28). And hence proceed very great miſchiefs. For he is blinded by this pre-conceiv'd opinion, nay, and himſelf promotes his Favourite's Credit and Reputation, by permitting extraordinary Honours to be paid him, as *Tiberius* did, hanging *Sejanus*'s picture in the Theatres aud publick Places (29). This whiſper paſſes immediately from one to another, whence is rais'd a new Idol, like that of *Aaron* out of the Ear-rings (30), for either there would be no favour, or at leaſt, 'twould be but of ſhort continuance, without the applauſe of the people: This Honour creates Arrogance and Avarice to ſupport it, the uſual Vices of the great ones (31). The Favourite forgets himſelf, and thoſe good qualities which made him at firſt eſteem'd, by degrees fade. Proſperity inſenſibly diſcloſing thoſe Vices which Policy had a while conceal'd. So it happen'd to *Antonius Primus*, in whom Proſperity diſcover'd Pride, Avarice, and other ill qualities which were before unknown (32). Grandure diſturbs the reaſon, and makes the Favourite aſpire to things above him; thus *Sejanus* offer'd marriage to *Livia* (33). He manages affairs not as a Miniſter, but a companion (which was *Mucian*'s great fault) (34); and would have the Prince but a bare name, reſerving all the authority to himſelf (35). Nor dares any ſay to him what *Bathſheba* ſaid to *David*, *And now behold* Adonijah *reigneth, and now, my Lord the King, thou*

(28) *Major ex eo, & quæquam exitioſa ſuaderet, ut non ſui anxius, cum fide audiebatur* Ibid. (29) *Cuique per theatra & fora effigies ejus, interque principia legionum ſtaret.* Ibid. (30) Exod. 32. 4. (31) *Avaritiam & arrogantiam, præcipua validiorum vitia.* Tac. 1. hiſt. (32) *Fellicitor in tali ingenio, avaritiam, ſuperbiam, cæteraque occulta mala patefecit* Tac. 3. hiſt (33) *At Sejanus nimiâ fortunâ ſocors, & muliebri inſuper cupidine incenſus, promiſſam matrimonium, flagitante Livia, compoſuit ad Cæſarios codicillos.* Tac. 14 ann. (34) *Mucianus cum expedita manu, ſocium magis imperii quam miniſtrum agens.* Tac. 4. ann. (35) *Vim principis ampletti, ornamenta remittere.* Tac. 4 hiſt.

knoweſt

knoweſt it not (36). And 'tis the Favourite's whole aim to exceed the Prince in thoſe qualities which are proper to Royalty, that he may be eſteem'd beyond him; which way *Abſalom* made uſe of to diſgrace King *David*, affecting affability and a readineſs to hear the Subjects Complaints; by which he ſtole the hearts of the people (37). A Favourite does not think himſelf ſuch, unleſs his Servants, Relations and Friends participate of his Authority, and ſo for his ſecurity he conferrs the chief Offices of State upon them, and ſo cuts the Nerves of Envy. With this deſign *Sejanus* preferr'd his own Creatures (38). And becauſe this power derogates from the Authority of the Princes of the Blood, who always oppoſe favour, not being able to brook that it ſhould be more eſteem'd than Birth, and that the Prince ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be govern'd by a Subject, on whom they muſt depend, (a danger which *Sejanus* experienc'd in the Family of *Tiberius* (39). The Favourite breeds diſcontent between them and the Prince. Thus *Sejanus* inform'd *Tiberius*, that *Agrippina* conſpir'd againſt him, and *Agrippina* that *Tiberius* deſign'd to poiſon her (40).

If the Favourite ſucceeds in any thing of this nature it emboldens him to proceed farther. After the death of *Druſus*, *Sejanus* had a deſign to cut off the whole Family of *Germanicus*. So that the Favourite being blinded with paſſion and exceſs of power, ſcorns private Artifices, and acts openly againſt the Prince's Relations, as *Sejanus* did againſt *Agrippina* and *Nero*. None dare warn him of the danger of his actions, for all tremble at the Majeſty of his preſence, as the *Iſraelites* did at that of *Moſes*, when he came from converſing with God (41) And as he ſees himſelf as much reſpected as the Prince, he conſpires againſt him (42), and oppreſſes his Subjects, knowing he can't gain their good Will; which makes them in Deſpair, doubt, whether his Avarice and Cruelty would not be leſs, were

(36) 1 Kings 1. 18. (37) 2 Sam. 15. 6. (38) *Neque Senatorio ambitu abſtinebat, clientes ſuos honoribus aut provinciis ornando.* Tac. 4. ann. (39) *Cæterum plena Cæſarum domus, juvenis filius, nepotes adulti moram capitis adferebant.* Tac. 4. ann. (40) *Immiſſis qui per ſpeciem amicitiæ monerent, paratum ei venenum, vitandas ſoceri epulas.* Tac. 4. ann. (41) Exod. 34. 30. (42) Eſth 16. 2.

he

he really their Prince, than now when not being ſo, he treats them as Slaves and Strangers. Which *Otho* conſider'd in a Favourite of *Galba* (43).

All attempts of this kind augment the danger, for Envy encreaſes, and Malice arms againſt the Favourite, who thinking he can't overcome it, but by ſome greater, applies all the means that Emulation of favour, more furious than that of Love, can ſuggeſt. And ſince the ſecurity of his favour depends upon the conſtancy of the Prince's Will, he endeavours to oblige him, by pleaſures and voluptuouſneſs, the main inſtruments of favour, which *Vitellius*'s Courtiers made uſe of to preſerve his (44). And leaſt the Prince ſhould give credit to any, he makes him diffident of all, the good eſpecially, for them he fears moſt. By this artifice *Vatinius* (45), and *Sejanus* ingratiated themſelves (46).

The Favourite conſidering, that nothing is more oppoſite to favour than the capacity of the Prince, makes it his whole endeavour, to keep him from knowing, underſtanding, ſeeing or hearing any thing, or having any one about him to inform him. He procures his averſion to buſineſs and fatigue, by filling his mind with the diverſions of Hunting, Plays, and Banquets, that his Senſes being diverted, neither his Eyes may inſpect Tranſactions, nor his Ears hear the Murmurs and Complaints of his people. Thus in the Sacrifices of the Idol *Moloch*, the Prieſts made a noiſe with Drums and Trumpets, to drown the Cries and Groans of the dying Infants. Sometimes by a farther fetch, he embaraſſes and confounds him with Affairs and Papers, on purpoſe to tire him quickly, ſo we ride Colts in a boggy ground to break them, and make them ſooner take the Bit. To which end he perſwades him to aſſiſt at Audiences, by which being wholly wearied, he may commit the manage-

(43) *Minore avaritia, aut licentia graſſatus eſſet Vinius ſi ipſe imperaſſet, nunc & ſubjectos nos habuit tanquam ſuos, & viles ut alienos.* Tac. 1. hiſt. (44) *Unum ad potentiam iter prodigis epulis, & ſumptu, ganeaque ſatiare inexplebiles Vitellii libidines.* Tac. 2. hiſt. (45) *Optimi cujuſque criminatione conſurgere valuit, ut gratia, pecunia, vi nocendi, etiam malos præmineret.* Tac. 15. ann. (46) *Sui obtegens in alios criminator.* Tac. 4. ann.

ment

ment of all to the Favourite, thinking it ſufficient to have an account of affairs from him. Whence (as *Jeremiah* ſaid of the *Babyloniſh* Idols) the Prince is nothing but what the Favourite pleaſes (47).

He would not have Affairs go ſmoothly and with ſucceſs, for any one can ſail in a Calm, but he wiſhes that the Sea may run high, and that the State may be ſo toſs'd by the Waves, that the Prince may be afraid to put his hand to the Helm, and ſo have more need of him. And then to ſtop at all Avenues to Truth, and remain ſole manager of Affairs beyond the reach of Envy, he draws him from Court to ſome Retreat among his own Creatures. So *Sejanus* perſwaded *Tiberius* to retire from *Rome* (48).

All theſe Arts redound much to the prejudice of the State, and the Princes reputation, and he who hawks after a Prince's favour by theſe means, does him more injury than one who openly offends him (49). For an offence is given by one fault, but favour is not acquir'd under many, and theſe always derogate from the Honour of the Prince, and are oppoſite to the publick Welfare. A State ſuffers much upon the ſudden death of its Prince, but this grievance is ſoon remedied in his Succeſſor, which can't be, when the Prince is by theſe arts render'd unſerviceable to the Government, this misfortune muſt continue as long as he lives, to the utmoſt Detriment of the Commonwealth. And as 'tis daily more and more felt, it creates Diſcontent and Murmurs among all, who find that this favour is not voluntary but violent, not choice but force, and many grounding their fortune upon his diſgrace, he being an impediment to their promotion; theſe, I ſay, being always

(47) Baruch 6. 46. (48) *Ac ne aſſiduo in domum cœtu arcendo, infringeret potentiam, aut recipiendo facultatem criminantibus præberet; huc flexit, ut Tiberium ad vitam procul Roma amœnis locis degendam, impelleret: multa quippe providebat. Suâ in manu aditus, literarumque magna ex parte ſe arbitrum fore, cum per milites commearent: mox Cæſarem vigente jam ſenectâ ſecretoque loci mollatum munia imperii facilius tranſmiſſurum: & minui ibi invidiam, adempta ſalutantium turbâ, ſublatiſque manibus vera potentia augere.* Tac 4. ann. (49) *Plura ſæpe peccantur dum demerentur, quam cum offendimus.* Tac. 15. ann.

arm'd

arm'd againſt him, 'tis impoſſible but that at laſt they ſhould find an opportunity to diſplace him, or that the Prince ſhould not at laſt perceive the trick, and that all the Envy and Odium conceiv'd againſt the Favourite falls upon him, as *Tiberius* at laſt found (50): and then the Prince beginning to open his Eyes, at the ſame time begins to fear the power which he has given his Favourite; which made *Tacitus* doubt whether *Tiberius* more lov'd or fear'd *Sejanus* (51); and as before his favour rais'd him, ſo now his hate procures his ruin.

This is the critical point of favour, in which all are in danger, for neither can the Prince diſſemble his diſ ſatisfaction, nor the Favourite remain conſtant in his Diſgrace, whence both being diſguſted the bond of Amity is broken. The Prince regards the Favourite as unworthy his favour, and he him as ungratefull for his Services, and believing that the Prince can't be without him, and that he muſt ſhortly recall him, he wi hdraws a while from Court, and gives occaſion to another to intermeddle in Affairs, and foment the new rais'd diſguſts, whence in a ſhort time the favour is turn'd into hatred, the impatience of the Favourite haſtning his ruin. The report of his Diſgrace ſpreads, and all grow inſolent and inſult over him, it being now not in the power of the Prince himſelf to aſſiſt him. His Relations and Friends fore-ſeeing his fall, and the danger which threatens them, fear leſt they too ſhould be involv'd in the ruin (52). As a lofty Tree falling cruſhes all that grow under the ſhadow of its Branches; nay theſe are the chief promoters of his fall, that they may get out of danger themſelves, all joining, ſome as Friends, ſome as Enemies, to puſh down this falling Wall (53). The Prince aſham'd of himſelf, ſtrives to free himſelf from this Subjection, and to regain his credit, by making the Favourite the principal cauſe of all miſcarriages, ſo that he is caught in his own Snares without

(50) *Perque invidiam tui, meque incuſant.* Tac. 4. ann. (51) *Dum Sejanum dilexit timuitve.* Ibid. (52) *Quidam male alacres, quibus infauſta amicitiæ gravis exitus imminebat.* Tac. 4 ann. (53) Pſal. 61. 4.

being

being able to free himſelf, as *Sejanus* was (54), and the more he ſtrives to diſengage himſelf, the more he haſtens his ruin: For when Favour once ſickens it muſt die, there being no Medicine can recover it.

From all that has been ſaid we may evidently ſee, that the greateſt danger in Favour is in the methods which Ambition takes to preſerve it; it being the ſame with Favourites, as with People who are too curious about their Health, who thinking to preſerve it by abundance of Phyſick, rather deſtroy it and ſhorten their days. And as in Diſtempers of the Body there is no better remedy than Abſtinence, leaving the reſt to Nature, ſo when Favour begins to ſicken, the beſt Advice is not to tamper too much with Medicines, but to ſerve his Prince with ſincerity and integrity, without affection or intereſt, leaving the Operation to Merit and Truth, more durable than Artifice; and uſing only ſome Preſervatives, ſuch as reſpect the Favourite, the Prince or his Miniſters, or the Court, or the People, or Strangers.

As to the Favourite, he ſhould preſerve the ſame ſtate of Modeſty, and Affability that his fortune found him in. He ſhould clear his Looks from the dazling Beams of Favour, as *Moſes* did when he ſpoke to the People, after he came from communing with God (55). *Daniel*, though he was a Favourite to many Kings, waited with the reſt in the Anti-Chambers (56). Let him refuſe thoſe Honours, which either belong to the Prince, or exceed the Sphere of a Miniſter, and if any would offer them, let him advertiſe both himſelf and him, that he is only a Servant to the Prince, to whom alone thoſe Honours are due: ſo the Angel inform'd St. *John* when he would have worſhipped him (57). Let him not make his Prince's Favour the means whereby to execute his Luſts and Paſſions. Let him bear with Patience, and anſwer calmly (58), let him not affect others Favour, nor fear their Diſpleaſure, nor conceal his Favour, nor covet Sovereign Power, nor arm againſt Envy, nor provide againſt

(54) *Non tam ſelectia, quippe iiſdem artibus viſtus eſt.* Tac. 4. ann. (55) Exod. 34. 35. (56) Dan. 2. 49. (57) Revel. 19. 10. (58) Eccleſ. 12. 9.

Emulation, for in theſe Precautions are very dangerous Let him fear God and Infamy.

The Favourite is alſo in danger from his Family and Relations, for though the Prince and People do approve of his Actions, it don't thence follow, that they muſt alſo thoſe of his Domeſticks and Relations, whoſe Diſorders, Indiſcretion, Pride, Avarice, and Ambition render him odious and ruin him. Let him not deceive himſelf by thinking, that his own Creatures are the ſupport and ſtrength of his Favour, for he who depends on many, is in danger of many, and therefore 'tis better to keep them within remembrance of their former Condition, and far from the management of Affairs, that others may ſee they hold no part in the Government, nor his Favour, or that they are preferr'd meerly for being his Servants. But if they are perſons of Worth and Merit, I would not that their being the Favourites Servants and Relations ſhould prejudice them. Chriſt has taught us this Point, giving to his Relations the Dignity of forerunner and Apoſtle, but not that of Teacher of Nations, and that of the Pontificate, which were due to the Faith of St. *Peter*, and the Learning of St. *Paul*.

With the Prince let him obſerve theſe Maxims. Let him always preſuppoſe, that his Favour or Affection is very ſubject to change, and if any ſuch change ſhould happen, he enquire not into the Cauſe thereof, nor pretend to take notice of it, that the Prince may not ſuſpect him, nor his Rivals hope his Fall, for he is in danger of it when he but thinks of it. Let him not build his Favour upon the inclination and fancy of the Prince, but upon his own Merit; for if the Gold of Favour be not well tempered with that Allay, it can never endure the Hammer of Emulation. Let him love more the Dignity than the perſon of a Prince. Let him moderate his Zeal by Prudence, and guide his underſtanding by that of the Prince, for none can ſuffer a a Rival in Senſe. Let him think himſelf his Subject not his Companion, and being a Creature, let him not pretend to equal his Creator (59); let him eſteem it honourable, and

(59) Eccleſ. 2. 12.

glorious

glorious to ruin himſelf to augment his Grandeur. Let him adviſe with a modeſt, agreeable and ſincere Freedom (60), without fear of Danger or Ambition of being accounted zealous and ſtanch in his Opinion. Let him make no Affair his own, nor think his Reputation concern'd in its Succeſs, nor be diſguſted that his Sentiments are rejected, or that being admitted they were afterwards altered, for ſuch Attempts are very dangerous.

In Debates and Reſolutions, let him be neither ſo hot as to flame, nor ſo cold as to freeze, but keep a moderate pace according to time and opportunity. Let him be more intent upon his Duty than his Favour, but without Affectation or vain Glory, for he who ſerves only for Reputation, robs the Prince of his (61). Let his Silence be *à propos*, and his words cloſe and ready upon occaſion, which quality King *Theodorick* commended in one of his Favourites (62). Let him prefer his Princes Service to his own intereſt, nay let them be both one. Let him pay due Veneration to the Royal Family, eſteeming their Friendſhip his greateſt Security, without fomenting Differences between them and the Prince, for Blood is eaſily reconcil'd to the ruin of the Favourite. Let him take care that the Prince has always good Servants, and faithful Miniſters about him, and let him inſtruct him faithfully in the Art of Government. Let him neither ſhut his Eyes, nor ſtop his Ears, but rather take care that he ſee, touch and feel all things himſelf. Let him diſcreetly inform him of his Errours and Failures, without fear of offence, if neceſſity requires. For though his Favour may ſicken for a time, 'twill recover again when he finds his Errour, as it happen'd to *Daniel* with the Kings of *Babylon* (63). When the Prince reſolves or determines any thing through Heat or Paſſion, he ſhould endeavour to bend not break thoſe Reſolutions, waiting while time and the inconveniencies thereof convince him of his Errour. Let him not prevent his hearing Peoples Complaints, and

(60) Prov. 22. 11. (61) Luk. 17. 10. (62) *Sub Genii noſtri luce intrepidus quidem, ſed reverenter aſtabat, opportuni tacitus, neceſſarie copioſus,* Caſſ. lib. 5. Ep. 3. (63) Prov. 28 23.

Satyrs, for when they fall upon Innocence, they are as Grains of Salt that preſerve Favour, and Admonitions not to err or to amend. Let him aſcribe ſucceſsful Actions to the Prince, but take miſcarriages upon himſelf. Let him always think his ruin ſure and certain, waiting for it with Conſtancy, and a free and diſintereſs'd mind, without being over ſollicitous to eſtabliſh his Favour, for he falls ſooneſt from a Precipice who fears it moſt. The reflection of the danger diſturbs the Brain, and we grow giddy with looking from an height. Whatever Favourites have been thus giddy have certainly fell, when thoſe who have not been ſo ſollicitous have paſs'd ſecure (64). Among the Miniſters of State, let him behave himſelf rather as a Companion than a Maſter, rather as a Defender than Accuſer (65). Let him encourage the Good, and endeavour to reform the Bad. Let him not interpoſe his Authority in their Preferments or Removals; and leave to them their own buſineſs. Let him not alter the Courſe of Counſels in Conſultations, nor deny any acceſs to the Prince. If the Prince would have him conſer with him, let him declare his Sentiments frankly, without any other Deſign than to conſult for the beſt.

The Court is the moſt dangerous Rock of Favour, and yet all uſe it to eſtabliſh and confirm it; there is not a ſtone in it but would ſtrive to fall, if in falling it might cruſh the Statue of the Favourite, which is as brittle as that of *Nebuchadnezzar*, by reaſon of the diverſity of Metals that compos'd it. Not one Courtier is a true Friend to the Favourite; if he chooſes ſome he incurs the Hatred and Envy of the reſt If he introduces them, he is in danger of being ſupplanted; if he does not he makes them his Enemies. 'Tis therefore the ſafeſt way to walk with indifference to all, and not to intermeddle in the Affairs of any one, but endeavour to ſatisfie all, and (if poſſible) rather to promote than hinder them in their Pretenſions and Intereſt. If any one ſhall have inſinuated himſelf into the Prince's Favour, 'twill be the beſt way to keep him there; for he who

(64) Prov. 10. 9. (65) Eccleſ. 32. 1.

wreſtles

wreſtles with another to throw him down uſually falls with him, and oppoſition confirms Favour. More Favorites have been ruined by ſtriving to diſplace others, than by advancing them. Let him ſlight Accuſations, or Commendations to the Prince, and leave them to Fortune.

Favour is very ſubject to the People, for if they diſapprove the Favourite, the Prince can never ſupport him againſt the common Cry; or if he Attempts it, the People uſually turn his Judges and Executioners, we having ſeen a great many fall by their hands. If the People love him to exceſs he is in danger from thence, for that creates Jealouſie and Envy in others, nay in the Prince himſelf, whence the Peoples Loves are generally ſhort and unlucky (66). And ſo that the Favourite may walk ſafe between theſe two Extreams, he muſt avoid all occaſions of publick Applauſe and Acclamations. Let him only endeavour to procure to himſelf a good Eſteem, by Piety, Liberality, Complaiſance and Affability, making it his Care to ſee Juſtice duely adminiſtred, that there may be plenty of all things, that the publick Peace be not diſturb'd in his time; that Privileges be not violated, nor Novelties introduced into the Government; but above all that there be no Diſputes in matters of Religion, nor difference among the Clergy: For he will ſoon feel the Peoples Rage, if he once incur the name of impious.

Foreigners who want this natural Love for the Prince, depend more upon the Favourite than him, whence they pay him moſt Reſpect, that they may by his means accompliſh their Deſigns, to the great diſhonour of the Prince, and prejudice of his States. Nay, they often prove the ruin of the Favourite, unleſs he abundantly ſatisfie them in their Deſires and Requeſts; wherefore he ought to beware of their Reſpect, and refuſe the incenſe and worth of Foreigners, letting them who would pay him thoſe Honours know, that he is only the Curtain before the Image, and that 'tis the Prince that works the Miracles.

Ambaſſadors uſually affect the Friendſhip of the Favou-

(6) *Breves & infauſtos populi Romani amores.* Tac. 2. ann.

rite,

rite, as the moſt effectual means to accompliſh their Affairs, and judging that the diſorders which reſult from Favour, will be of Service to them, they endeavour to foment it, being often introduc'd thereto by the Favourite himſelf, and as they take occaſion to commend them in Audiences, and ſeem at firſt ſight free from Intereſt and Emulation, it has often very good Effect, yet for all this they are dangerous Friends; for the Favourite can't preſerve their Friendſhip without great Detriment to the Prince and State. And if in conſideration of his Duty, he does not abundantly ſatisfie them, they are utter Enemies and leave no ſtone unturn'd to ruin him. 'Tis therefore ſafeſt not to be more engag'd to them than the Princes Service will permit. Endeavouring only to gain the Reputation abroad of a ſincere and affable Perſon, and one who would rather preſerve the good Correſpondences and Alliances of his Prince, than break 'em.

A timely Application of theſe Preſervatives may perhaps prevent a Favourites fall, but when he has once incurr'd the *Odium* and Envy of the people, theſe are look'd upon as Tricks and Artifices, and more endanger him. As it happened to *Seneca* who took no method to prevent his Death, but endeavouring to moderate his Favour, when he found himſelf perſecuted (67).

If notwithſtanding the Obſervation of all theſe Cautions, the Favourite ſhall fall into Diſgrace, his fall will be Glorious, he having liv'd without the little Fears, and the ſhameful Care of preſerving his Favour by methods below a generous Spirit, a torment much worſe than the diſgrace it ſelf. If there be any thing valuable in a Princes Favour, 'tis only the Glory of having merited his Eſteem; the Continuation of which is full of Cares and Dangers. And he is happieſt, who ſooneſt and with moſt Reputation quits it.

I have deſcrib'd, Royal Sir, the Practices of Favourites, but not how a Prince ought to comport himſelf to-

(67) *Inſtituta prioris potentiæ commutat, prohibet cœtus ſalutantium, vitat comitantes, rarus per Urbem, quaſi valetudini infenſa, aut ſapientiæ ſtudiis domi attinetur.* Tac. 14. ann.

wards

wards them, not ſuppoſing that he ought to have any, for though he muſt be allow'd to have more inclination to one than another, yet not ſo as to devolve all his Authority upon one perſon, from whom the people muſt expect Orders, Rewards and Puniſhments; for ſuch Favour is properly an Alienation from the Crown, and dangerous to the Government, even when Favour ſucceeds in the Election of the Subject, for neither will the people ſo readily obey, nor ſo awfully reſpect the Favourite as the Prince, nor is he ſo much concern'd for the welfare of the State, nor is he ſo immediately under the care of God as the Prince: So that though many of your Royal Highneſs's Anceſtors have had Favourites, who with much care and zeal (as we ſee at preſent) have endeavour'd to Act with the greateſt Integrity, yet have their attempts met with anſwerable Succeſs. Let not your Royal Highneſs be deceiv'd by the example of *France*, whoſe Territories we ſee indeed much enlarg'd by the Counſels of a Favourite, but not without detriment to the Kingdom, and prejudice to the Royal Prerogative. Whoever ſhall duely conſider the Perſecution of the Queen Mother, and Duke of *Orleans*; the Blood of *Montmorency* ſpilt, that of the Prior of *Vendoſme*, of *Paul Reny*, and of Monſieur *de Macraints*, the Impriſonment of the Duke of *Bulloign*, the Exactions and Oppreſſions of the Subjects, the Uſurpation of the Dutchy of *Lorrain*, the Leagues made with the *Dutch*, *Proteſtants* and *Swedes*, the Deſign upon *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, the Peace made at *Monzon* without the knowledge of the Allies, the Curb impos'd upon the *Valtoline* and *Griſons*, the Succours ſent to *Scotland*, and the *Engliſh* Parliament, the Sieges of *Fontarabie*, St. *Omer*, *Thionville*, *Fornavent* and *Catelet*, the loſs of ſo many Soldiers at *Lovain*, *Tarragone*, *Perpignan*, *Salce*, *Valence* upon the *Po*, *Imbree* and *la Roque*, the retaking *Aire* and the *Baſs*. He, I ſay, who ſhall conſider theſe things, will find that all his meaſures were grounded upon Violence, and that his Favour was founded upon force; that the Sword ſo daring againſt the Perſons of Kings, has been timorous and cowardly againſt this Miniſter, that Fortune has favoured his Temerity, that he has ſucceeded by the ſame means he

ſhould

ſhould have fail'd, whereas we have loſt by the ſame methods we ſhould have gain'd; a ſure Sign that God proſpered this Favourite for the Exerciſe of Chriſtianity, and for our Chaſtiſement, foreſtalling our Prudence, and confounding our Valour. Kingdoms deſtin'd to Ruin, fall by the ſame means they ſhould be ſupported; thus the entrance into the *Adriatick* created Diſtruſt, the Protection of *Mantua* Jealouſie, the oppoſition at *Nivers* Wars, the Diverſion, Expence, the Army in *Alſace* Rivals, the War for *Spain* Rebellions. At the Siege of *Caſal* we loſt an opportunity of putting an end to the War; the Counſel of Secretary *Paſſiers* to Prince *Thomas*, hindred the relief of *Turin* and triumph over *France*. The ſame thing happed at *Aire*, for a fooliſh piece of Formality, the News that was brought of the Siege of *Arras* made them omit the Care of relieving it. For a vain Scruple *D' Amvilliers* was not ſuccoured, through Cowardize or Treachery, *Chapelle* ſurrendred. O Providence Divine! Whither tend ſuch variety of Accidents, ſo different from their Cauſes? 'Tis not by chance that the Government of *Europe* is put into the hands of Favourites. God grant Succeſs may anſwer the publick Prayers.

The End of the Firſt Volume.

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